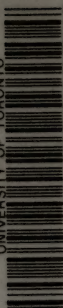


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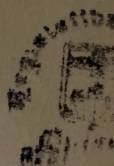
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OLIVER CROMWELL.
LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND.

*Published by Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street.
1838.*

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THE
PROTECTORATE
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL,
AND
THE STATE OF EUROPE
DURING

THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.
ILLUSTRATED
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS
BETWEEN
DR. JOHN PELL, RESIDENT AMBASSADOR WITH THE SWISS CANTONS,
SIR SAMUEL MORLAND, SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART, MR. SECRETARY THURLOE,
AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE TIME.

Now first published from the Originals.

EDITED BY
ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
ON THE
CHARACTER OF CROMWELL, AND OF HIS TIMES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1839.





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PREFACE.

THE letters submitted to the public in these volumes relate to the affairs of England and Europe during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. They are published from the originals, in the Lansdowne collection of manuscripts in the British Museum. The value of such documents to the historian will be at once admitted. They have their place among his safest guides ; and are indispensable if his narrative is to be characterized by accuracy, fulness, and the real spirit of the times which it is meant to describe. Communications made in the confidential freedom proper between parties alike initiated into the mysteries of state policy, often enable us to distinguish between the true springs of the most memorable proceedings, and the alleged grounds of them ; and furnish such illustrations of individual character, as are rarely supplied by the conduct of men while acting on the open stage of public affairs.

It is hoped, also, that such publications may not be without their attraction to the general reader. It cannot be pleasing to feel that we are forming our notions of history from secondary sources, at best imperfect, and tainted, too commonly, by party prejudice. Minds possessing some element of independence, must be desirous of obtaining their information, so far as it may be practicable, from the fountain rather than the streams. It must be confessed, however, that in such works as the present the reader will not often find the charm which belongs to flowing and vigorous narration ; to the finished portraitures of great men ; or to the regular classification, and judicious compression, of the materials which relate to the several departments of General History. But if such charms are wanting, there are others by which their place may be supplied. It is something to feel assured that we are seeking truth in the safest way to it ; that we are admitted to read the undisguised utterances of great men in bygone times, concerning the parties and occurrences of their day ; that we are allowed, in some sense, to be of their fraternity ; and that our converse with them is such as to permit our being at their side as they task their powers in tracing out the labyrinths of diplomacy, and in

providing against its snares,—the keenest intellects of their age, each sharpening the other for that war of argument which, whether conducted in cabinets or senates, is ever arising out of the great business of nations. Nor is it merely in disclosures of this nature, relating to the more considerable movements which form the usual substance of history, that such documents are interesting. The importance attached by such correspondents to the talk and doings of courts; to the passing humours of the people—in short, their care to make a full report of the news of every hour, and the free and natural manner in which they set forth small details of this sort, upon which the general historian rarely descends to touch—all contribute to give to such papers an interest of their own, so that they are sometimes found to bear the reader away from the world around him, and to place him in the midst of the noise, and change, and struggle—the ever-bubbling life of other lands and other days.

With regard to the papers contained in these volumes, it will suffice to say, that there are few points of interest connected with the state of England during the protectorate on which they do not touch so as to cast more or less light upon them; while the accounts which they furnish of

Cromwell's negotiations with the states of the continent, particularly in favour of the injured Vaudois, admit us to an inspection of the political relations, and social condition, of the people of Europe at that period, which, it is presumed, must be deemed interesting and valuable by every lover of history. There is also an Appendix to the second volume, selected from the Pell papers in the Lansdowne, and in the Birch collections, which affords some illustration of the state of philosophy and learning in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV.; and concerning the domestic and literary character of Dr. Pell.

It is the remark of a writer who brought much sagacity to the business of authorship, that every book should be, as far as possible, complete in itself, so that there may be no necessity, in order to an intelligent perusal of it, of referring to other works. The object of the Editor in the Notes and Introduction, has been to give this degree of completeness to the present publication. On those points in the Introduction concerning which some difference of opinion may possibly arise, he has given both the authorities and the reasoning on which his convictions are founded; but in a preliminary summary of this nature, it was not ex-

pedient to extend critical investigation further. Such as it is, the Author is not without hope that this part of the work will be welcome to the reader, as the means of aiding his recollections in relation to the great men and great facts belonging to the age of Cromwell ; and as being somewhat adapted, perhaps, to secure for the extraordinary man, whom Bishop Warburton describes as “ the most magnanimous of usurpers,” the benefit of a more impartial judgment than he has been wont to obtain in some quarters.

Notting Hill,

October 24th, 1838.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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JOHN THURLOE, SECRETARY OF THE PROTECTOR,
Frontispiece, Vol. II.

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THE
CHARACTER OF CROMWELL
AND OF
HIS TIMES.

CROMWELL was lineally descended from the family of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and Prime Minister to Henry VIII. In the seventeenth year of his age we find him entered as a gentleman commoner of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Four years later, he married the eldest daughter of Sir John Bouchier; and if we except the short time during which he represented the borough of Huntingdon, his native town, in the parliament of 1628, the interval from his twentieth to his fortieth year was given to the duties of private life in that place, at St. Ives, and in the Isle of Ely. In the last two places he was employed in agricultural pursuits. During the whole of that interval his conduct in his family relations appears to have been, as it always continued to be, highly exemplary and affectionate. The stories circulated concerning his early profligacy, though not without some foundation, were in a much greater degree the invention of his enemies, or mistakes resulting from a misapprehension of the language in which, as a zealous puritan, he was accustomed to express

himself, with regard to the depravity of his nature while a stranger to those views of Christianity by which that class of professors were distinguished. In literature, to which he never made the slightest pretension, his attainments were not so contemptible, probably, as those of many who were forward to sneer at his deficiencies in that respect. According to Waller, the poet, who was his kinsman, he possessed a sound acquaintance with the historians of Greece and Rome; and we learn from Whitelock, that he was capable of holding a discourse in Latin with the Swedish ambassador.

It thus appears, as stated by Cromwell to his parliament, in 1654, that he "was by birth a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity." In the parliament of 1628, inquiries were instituted concerning Sibthorpe, Cozens, Montague, and Manwaring, court divines who had made themselves conspicuous by their opposition to the puritans, their abuse of the Reformation, and their extravagant doctrines in favour of the power of the crown. It was reported to the house of commons by a committee, that the censures which the parliament had passed on these delinquents were remitted, or in process of remission, through the influence of the Bishop of Winchester; and that Manwaring in particular had obtained the reward of his zeal in the cause of popish doctrine and arbitrary power, by being placed in possession of a rich living. Cromwell, now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, was a member of this committee; and in addressing the House on the matter of the report, said, "that to his knowledge it was the practice of the Bishop of Winchester to bestow his countenance on men whose preaching was 'flat popery;' and he wished to know what the effect was likely to be if the publishing of such doctrines was allowed to become, as in the case

of Manwaring, the path of preferment.”* This being the earliest mention of Cromwell as a speaker in our parliamentary history, a historian bitterly hostile to his memory, has remarked, “it is amusing to observe the first words of this fanatical hypocrite correspond so exactly to his character.”† What proof either of fanaticism or hypocrisy can be fairly extracted from the above language, is left to the candour of the reader. It is more to our purpose to observe, that Cromwell was already governed by dispositions in two important particulars, which never ceased to be prominent in his character—viz. by an ardent attachment to the protestant religion as professed by the puritans, and a fixed repugnance to the political dogmas which the divines above named had distinguished themselves by promulgating.

At this juncture, the affairs of the court and the government, were under the direction of the Duke of Buckingham. The graceful person of that favourite first recommended him to the late king; and his accomplishments as a courtier, which confirmed him in his ascendancy over the weak mind of James I., gave him a similar influence over the more steady discernment and better nature of his successor. But even as a courtier—the capacity in which he displayed his only ability—Buckingham was deficient in the first requisite of his vocation—command of temper, and, in consequence, was always surrounding himself with opposition and difficulty, which a little management would have sufficed to preclude. That the fabric of his fortune was not demolished from this cause almost as suddenly as it was reared, was owing mainly to the pusillanimity of James, and to that peculiarity of temperament in Charles, which so often

* Rushworth, I. 655.

† Hume, History of England.

disqualified him for acting from his own resources, and which especially led his young mind, while exposed to so much vexation from the conduct of his parliaments and his queen, to make a sort of refuge of his favourite. The duke conformed himself to the comparative decency of the new court after having pandered to the worst vices of the old. But so little effort did he make to conceal his generally vicious inclinations, that actions which might have borne the appearance of virtue in other men, were sure not to be so regarded in his instance. Charles appears to have been the only man in his kingdom who failed to see in this minion a headstrong upstart; whose pride of commanding all the subjects of the realm, had taught him to set the aids both of prudence and intrigue at nought; whose profuse liberality, and furious resentments, were only different modes of indulging the same towering passions; and who could never meddle with any affair of war or policy without betraying a total want of capacity and principle. It is to the circumstance that this man, personally so destitute of everything that could make him an object of confidence or fear, was the functionary at whose disposal all the monies voted by parliament would have been placed, and to whose management every enterprise sanctioned by that assembly would have been entrusted, that we must look for the main cause of the reluctance shewn by the commons to meet the demands that were made upon them in the early part of the reign of Charles I.

As Cromwell entered fully into the views of the popular party in the lower house, it is not difficult to judge of his sentiments when the king dissolved his third parliament; committed a number of its leading members to prison; and addressed himself to the perilous enterprise of governing the people of England without the aid of such assemblies.

Clarendon states that he was well acquainted with the proceedings of the three parliaments assembled by Charles previous to the spring of 1629, when the last was dissolved, and expresses his wonder at the courses which were pursued at that juncture by the government. "It is not to be denied," he adds, "that there were in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches of particular persons, not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his Majesty and his councils. But I do not know any formed act of either house, (for neither the remonstrance nor the votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts, upon those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice, in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings."* These are the admissions of an enemy. And, indeed, so far were the leaders of the popular party from having passed the boundary of the constitution to entrench on the prerogative, that they had not yet proceeded to the extent of claiming the whole of the safeguards which the law of the land would have authorized them to demand. They claimed no more security in any case, either for their persons or possessions, than the unrepealed statutes of the realm had awarded to them; and had they prayed now for the abolition of the court of star-chamber, as they prayed in the last reign for the abolition of the court of high commission; and had they further insisted that the times for the meeting of parliament should be determined by enactment, and not left to the pleasure of the crown; it would have been possible for

* History of the Rebellion, I. 8, 9.

them to have shewn, not only that such measures were of paramount importance, if their chartered liberties were to be more real than imaginary, but that they were in harmony with the most venerable forms of the constitution. But the people were not prepared at that time for such bold enterprises. To bring them up to that point, it was required that there should be the twelve years of misrule which followed.

During those years, extending from the spring of 1629 to nearly the close of 1640, Charles looked for the supply of his wants to the ingenuity of his council, in the place of the authority of parliament; and to judge correctly with regard to the conduct of Cromwell and his coadjutors subsequent to that period, it is necessary to look with some attention to the character of the men by whom the country had been governed for a long time before, and to the general complexion of their proceedings. Charles ascended the throne early in 1625, Buckingham was assassinated in August 1628, and during that space the favourite made, and unmade, and made again, almost at pleasure. At his decease, the power which had thus centred in himself, fell in a greater degree into the hands of his dependants, and was further distributed, after a while, among certain new men who were called to the direction of public affairs. Among the persons into whose hands the reins of government then passed, the first place should perhaps be given to Sir Richard Weston,—not that his ability or his worth exceeded those of the rest, but, on account of the superiority to which he aspired, and which he in some degree obtained.

Weston was a person of good family, and from his youth made court preferment the object of his ambition. In his education, his travels, and his subsequent attendance at court in the hope of employment, he spent the greater part

of his patrimony, and was often obliged to avail himself of the assistance of persons who regarded the probabilities of his fortune as sufficiently promising to lend money upon them. Men who look with such a temper towards advancement in the slippery places of a court, are not likely to prove very scrupulous about the moral complexion of the work assigned to them. Weston's first employment was upon an embassy on the affairs of the Palatinate. On his return he was raised to the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and afterwards, through the influence of Buckingham, he became lord treasurer. When the tide set in against the favourite, Weston sympathized more strongly with the resentment of his patron than the great caution of his previous history had led men to expect. He had now pursued his long-chosen course of studying to please everybody from whom the slightest service might possibly be obtained, with a good degree of success; and he appears to have resolved from this time to seek his aggrandizement at court, at the hazard of being denounced as the great enemy of the constitution, and of the public weal elsewhere. The royal treasury, accordingly, was freely replenished from the most illegal sources. But his own affairs, partly from his fondness for display, and partly from his restless appetite for power, were always in embarrassment, and exposing him to inquietude. In his impeachment, commenced in the parliament of 1628, he was described as the man who had set himself to act on the policy of Buckingham, and as not less an enemy to the religion and liberties of the kingdom. Nor would he have retained office or footing in England during the few years of life which awaited him, had he not been protected against the hostility of his opponents in the commons by the suspension of parliaments which followed. Many of his family were catholics, and he was charged with

being of the same creed. But however that may have been, the treasury had never been so much enriched by fines from catholic recusants as during the administration of Weston. This patriotic statesman was created Earl of Portland in 1632, and died in 1634.

In Sir Thomas Coventry, the lord keeper, we find a much better man. He was the son of a lawyer, and a person of unusual parts and industry. Before his fortieth year, he had filled the office of recorder of London, and became solicitor and attorney-general. The great seal was committed to him in 1626, and was retained by him to the time of his death in 1642. Clarendon states that no man brought to this last office a greater fitness for its duties. At the council-table he was qualified beyond any other person to offer advice on matters connected with foreign policy, or with the civil and ecclesiastical constitution. But the manner in which affairs were conducted by his colleagues, was so little accordant with his views, that he despaired at length of doing any good by meddling with public questions; and could rarely be induced to speak on any subject not connected immediately with the administration of justice as pertaining to his office. He was a person of grave aspect and manners; but was distinguished by a simple, natural urbanity, which gave him the reputation of being an accomplished courtier. His speaking, which never rose to brilliancy of any kind, was always effective from the force of his views, and the confidence placed in the honesty of his intentions. But if without violent enemies, he had few powerful friends. Coventry never obtained much credit with the king, and we may judge of the materials of which the court of Charles I. was composed, from the fact, that the lord keeper could not look, according to Clarendon, to a single person in it as possessing the

power and inclination "to prevent or divert any disadvantage" to which he might be exposed. His policy, accordingly, was to stand on the defensive, and his part, in that respect, was so well performed, that he maintained his position, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts made to dislodge him by such men as Weston, and by the Marquis of Hamilton, the kinsman of the sovereign. We must not suppose that he retained his place during a period when law was so often violated by the government, without becoming liable to censure in the esteem of truly patriotic men. But it is something to know, that his inconvenient objections in point of law, often proved a formidable impediment in the path of those arbitrary measures to which the king and his ministers were so much inclined. On such occasions, a collision generally occurred between the lord keeper and Manchester, lord privy seal.

The Earl of Manchester was a much older man than Sir Thomas Coventry, and of longer standing in the practice of his profession; but a person who had found it less difficult to gratify his love of business than his love of money. Buckingham, in consideration of a large bribe, not less than 20,000*l.*, had raised this man to the office of lord treasurer; but, on some pretext, deprived him after awhile of his staff; and again, as a sort of recompence for the exemplary patience with which he had submitted to this treatment, conferred on him the titles of Viscount Manderville and Earl of Manchester, and raised him from the office of president of the council to that of lord privy seal. When appealed to, in opposition to Coventry, Manchester generally discovered sufficient willingness to place all the weight of his authority on the side of the court. Among the people he had the reputation of being a sound protestant, a circumstance which, together with the gravity and caution of his manners, pro-

cured him some credit at a distance. But among those who knew him best, his venality deprived his opinions of the respect to which they would otherwise have been entitled. Manchester held the office of privy seal to his death, which happened on the eve of the civil war.

The Earl of Arundel took precedence in council of all who were not there as officers of state. This nobleman was a collector of all things deemed valuable by the virtuoso. He affected not only the costume and manners, but the high feudal notions of remote times, and his character, as given by Clarendon, embraces as great a number of bad points as could well meet in the same person. In the country, his unsocial temper made him at all times unpopular; and at court, his pride bowed to no superiority beneath the throne, and with difficulty acknowledged it even there. Hence his complaints sometimes extended to the conduct of the king himself; and he, in fact, seemed to live for the purpose of making himself enemies, to whom he gave no small advantage by deeming their hostility a matter too mean for his thoughts. Arundel was placed at the head of the army raised to suppress the rebellion in Scotland; but on the approach of the civil war, embarked for Italy, where he ended his days.

Next to Arundel stood the Earl of Pembroke, his opposite in nearly all respects. Pembroke was a nobleman of ample fortune, and generous temperament, and of good average ability. With the credit of good capacity, he possessed the higher reputation of being governed by unbiassed purposes; and in consequence often attracted to himself the confidence both of the court and country parties in the disputes which arose between them. Soon after Charles came to the throne, Pembroke had his disagreements with Buckingham, and would probably have done much more towards

curbing the insufferable arrogance of the favourite, had not the dagger of Felton interposed. Pembroke did not survive Buckingham more than two years.

The Earl of Pembroke, of whom we find such frequent mention in the history of the civil war, was brother of the above nobleman. He had been a sort of favourite with James I. soon after his accession, who created him Earl of Montgomery. James on his death-bed commended him to the favour of Charles, as a person of tried fidelity; and he was appointed about that time to the office of lord chamberlain. During the late reign, he had never affected much of the statesman, aspiring to little more than to make himself an agreeable companion to the king, particularly in the sports of the field. On becoming Earl of Pembroke in 1630, he obtained a place in the council, and had more to do with public affairs, but not in such a shape as to attract observation, until the commencement of the troubles in Scotland. From that time, his sympathy with the popular party, which he was never at much pains to conceal, exposed him to disfavour at court, and led to his being deprived of his office as chamberlain after retaining it sixteen years. He was no doubt a man of more passion than judgment, and wanting in that dignity and decision of conduct which his station demanded. But he appears to have chosen the side of the parliament sincerely, and to have been willing to suffer in its cause, though he would probably have deplored the fate that should have obliged him to become conspicuous in any cause at the hazard of his high rank and large wealth. So long as there was a house of peers Pembroke continued to fill his place there.

With Arundel and Pembroke, as leading men in the council, mention should be made of the Earls of Dorset, Carlisle, and Holland. The Earl of Dorset was a noble-

man eminently endowed both in mind and person, but destitute of the moral firmness necessary to protect him against the stream of corruption which had set in upon everything within the verge of the court during the last reign. His life, accordingly, was much more that of the man of pleasure than of the statesman, disgraced to the end by excess and consequent embarrassment, and exhibiting the wreck of capacities that might have been employed with effect in the service of his country.

The Earl of Carlisle was a native of Scotland, and a person always acceptable to the late king. His attainments as a scholar were considerable; his understanding unusually comprehensive; and his accomplishments as a courtier were supposed to be equal or superior to those of any man in England or elsewhere. His property, by his marriage, and by grants from the crown — the latter amounting in all to not less than 400,000*l*.—was sufficient to have placed him among the richest men in the kingdom. But his passion for expense in dress, equipage, and feasting, was such as had never been witnessed in England; and not only served to exhaust his resources, but to corrupt the times in which he lived. His principal official employment was in negotiating the marriage between Charles and Henrietta. His habits, to the time of his death, which was just before the outbreak of the civil war, were, from his deliberate choice, those of the man of pleasure, rather than the man of business. He was wont to argue, that the statesman must be a more immoral man than the voluptuary, and much less happy.

The Earl of Holland bore too near a resemblance to the Earl of Carlisle, with whom he always lived on terms of the strictest intimacy. He was younger brother to the Earl of Warwick, and senior brother to the Earl of New-

port. Having spent some time in Paris, and performed his novitiate, after the fashion of the age, as a soldier in the service of Holland, he made his appearance at the English court. His handsome presence, and mild and polished address, soon gave him a place in the favour of James, which he was sufficiently skilful to retain without exciting the jealousy of Buckingham. He was now made captain of the guard, knight of the garter, and, at length, as Earl of Holland, obtained a place in the privy council. On the decease of Buckingham, the queen endeavoured, and not without a disastrous measure of success, to supply the place of the favourite in regulating the exercises of the royal favour; and the Earl of Holland, having always possessed the good opinion of Henrietta since his part in negotiating her marriage, hoped from this time to exert a greater influence, through her medium, in court matters, than any other person. Nor can he be said to have indulged these thoughts altogether in vain. But the vacillation of his conduct subsequent to the Scottish invasion, proved him to be one of those rudderless barks, which are sure not to escape damage amidst the cross-currents of troubled times. Much may be attributed to his want of judgment, but more to that want of principle which left him a prey to all the little passions of the courtier.

With the members of council already mentioned, Buckingham associated Sir John Cooke and Sir Dudley Carleton, as secretaries of state. The former was a plodding accountant; the latter, a shallow diplomatist, who had spent so much time in foreign countries as to have formed the most mistaken conceptions with regard to the constitution and temper of his own. But a person no less under the direction of the duke, and much more effectively employed by him, was Bishop Laud; concerning whom, however, so

much has been said by all writers who have treated of his times, that no man can hope to offer anything new in relation to him. Attempts are still sometimes made to hold up this personage as a model of ecclesiastical wisdom and virtue. If we must indeed account him a wise man, it is rather unfortunate that his wisdom should have been of so strange a complexion as to have led him to do much more than any other man of his age towards destroying what he meant to preserve, and setting up what he meant to put down. Certainly it is not a rare thing to meet with men whose faculties are thus at fault in adapting the means to the end, but we are not accustomed to number them among the wise of their generation. In fact, the genius of this "little great man," as Bishop Williams very properly called him, was of that narrow, restless, ardent description which could scarcely fail of leading to such consequences. If the object of pursuit selected by such a man be neither wise nor good, he will not find it difficult to persuade himself that it has both these recommendations; and then, by a further process of self-deception, and in the true spirit of the fanatic, will perhaps reconcile himself to almost anything in the order of means for the sake of such an end. Thus Laud, who always held the canons of the church, even in the most corrupt age, in great honour, became a party in adjudging three men—Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, from the three professions of law, physic, and divinity, to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be branded in the face with hot irons, as the punishment of certain alleged libels against the state, notwithstanding the said canons had provided that no clergyman should be a party to any sentence depriving an accused person of life or member; and when the sufferers reminded their priestly judge of this inconsistency, he denied the charge, affirming that as the loss of

the ear was not the loss of hearing, it was no loss of a limb ! On the same occasion you might hear him indulging in expressions of pity over the obstinate depravity which made such punishment unavoidable, and the next moment you see him, with his cap in his hand, bowing to the authorities about him, and giving them his best thanks, as having come to a judgment in this case, so expressive of their enlightened sense of duty towards the throne and their religion.* As the primate of the English church, this misguided man diffused the spirit of his own restless intolerance from one end of the kingdom to the other, and even beyond it. Laud gave much umbrage to many of the nobility by procuring the appointment of Juxon, Bishop of London, to the place of lord treasurer, the highest secular office in the state. Juxon was a man of exemplary character, but of small ability in the duties of his proper calling, and of none at all in anything else. Nor was he ambitious of such a trust. But the archbishop had his ends to accomplish by placing such a man in the near intercourse with the king inseparable from that office.

Soon after the death of Buckingham, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Cottington—an old diplomatist and courtier ; a man possessing a marvellous command of temper ; fond of money, so as to be little scrupulous about the manner of getting it ; an expert hypocrite whenever there was anything to be gained by putting on the mask ; and always prepared to supply the royal wants by means of illegal exactions to any extent consistent with safety. His tyranny in the court of wards, especially, made him exceedingly unpopular with a large portion of the nobility and gentry through the kingdom.

During some years previous to the meeting of the Long

* Howell's State Trials, *ubi supra*.

Parliament, there was a lesser cabinet, among whom nearly all state matters were digested before being submitted to the meetings of the council; and in that lesser circle Laud and Cottington, little fitted as they seemed to be for acting together, divided the government in a great measure between them. Strafford was prevented taking the lead in that connexion which would otherwise have fallen to him, by his duties in Ireland. The Earl of Northumberland was invited to such conferences on the ground of his rank, more than on account of any disposition evinced by him to become active in public affairs; the Marquis of Hamilton possessed great influence with the king, but exercised his subtle and selfish policy more with regard to particular projects than to the general machinery of the government; and Vane and Windebanke, who completed this lesser council, were present as secretaries of state, their assistance being necessary to the shaping, and particularly to the execution, of the measures agreed upon. Vane was one of that numerous class of worthies who become the willing servants of a court, purely in consequence of having learnt to regard it as the quarter in which they may best serve themselves. Windebanke was governed by the same species of virtue, but prosecuted his objects with a bolder temper than his colleagues, particularly as it respected dispensing with the penal laws against Catholics. When the Long Parliament began to summons a number of state delinquents to account, Vane was deprived of his office. Windebanke would have suffered more considerably, had he not avoided the resentment of the house of commons by making his escape to France.

In so doing, Windebanke followed the example of Sir John Finch, the lord keeper of the great seal. This last person was the speaker of the commons in the parliament of 1628, but before the dissolution of that assembly

he became the secret ally of the court, in its struggle with the popular party which ruled in the lower house. The court was not unmindful of his services ; and Finch proclaimed his sense of the favour which it shed upon him, by the boldness and activity with which he supported its most extravagant pretensions. On the question of ship-money, he canvassed the judges, and extorted the votes of ten in support of it, Crook and Hutton being the only men who had virtue enough to avow themselves dissentients, and even they did so but in part. Finch, indeed, had the audacity to say in open court, that he hoped to see the day when no man would be found saucy enough to question the authority of an order in council any more than of an act of parliament. In short, this man began his career with little law and less principle; and, from 1628, gave himself up to prosecute the objects of an arbitrary government at all hazards. His head would probably have been the price of his temerity, had he not fled from the laws which he violated and the country which he betrayed.

In this brief review of the character of the persons constituting the government of England from 1629 to 1640, there is not a man, if we except Laud, of whom Clarendon has not spoken in terms of disparagement or censure, as strong, or even stronger, than will be found in the preceding pages. All the men of business, including Sir Richard Weston, Sir Francis Cottington, Bishop Laud, the Earl of Manchester, Sir John Finch, and their subordinates Cooke, Carleton, and Windebanke, were parties with whom the will of the king was, in fact, everything, and the community nothing. From the pampered sensuality of Carlisle, and the profligate selfishness of the Earl of Holland, no man could expect anything better than ensued. The Marquis of Hamilton was always

ready to abet the most illegal proceedings, when of a kind to promise him some personal advantage, and such as might be pursued without any manifest or immediate danger; and in this temper he would not have lacked countenance from Arundel, had the habits of that haughty personage allowed of his being frequently present at the meetings of the council. Northumberland was too often absent on such occasions to operate as any check on irregularity; and Pembroke, if we may credit Clarendon, was wanting too generally in the disposition to do so; while Juxon, feeble in everything, was never allowed to forget that his staff as lord treasurer had been entrusted to him purely from the trust reposed in the pliancy of his temper. In the presence of such colleagues, it is hardly surprising that the moderate homage to the sovereignty of the law sometimes expressed by Coventry, should have been checked as a note of discord. Certain it is, that the reception given to a tone of patriotism so very discreet, was such as disposed that functionary to hold his peace as the only means of retaining his office.

Charles, when contemplating, as he did in 1629, the abeyance of the constitution, looked with some misgiving on this doubtful array of supporters. It was at that juncture that the monarch endeavoured to detach some of the patriots from their course by the offer of court favour; and this new policy—new, because in our history the government had generally been so strong as not to need its aid—was not put into requisition in vain. These overtures were accepted by Sir Dudley Digges, a member of the commons, whose advocacy of popular rights had subjected him to imprisonment, and who subsequently became master of the rolls; and by Lord Saville, who had been for some time distinguished as the great opponent of the Wentworth

family in Yorkshire. But concerning the former of these persons, little subsequent mention is made; and the latter became remarkable as a person more and more disowned and avoided by everything honourable and decent in the party to which he would have given his services. The bait, however, which allured such men, was placed with no less success before others whose assistance promised to be of high value. Noy, the most erudite lawyer on the popular side, after Sir Edward Coke, was thus seduced: Littleton followed his example, and accepted the office of solicitor-general, Noy being made attorney-general. In the wake of these persons followed Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the Earl of Strafford, a person whose talents and eloquence, as displayed in the parliament of 1628, had seemed to point him out as the future leader of the great party with whom he then appeared to have chosen his place.

Noy was not a popular man in his temper or manners, even while he brought his great legal ability to the cause of the people. His diligence in the service of his new friends led to the discovery of certain ancient documents among the records in the Tower, which were made available as a precedent in support of the memorable impost known by the name of ship-money. His recommendation, indeed, founded on the authority of those obsolete writs, proceeded no farther than to advise that the ports should be each required to furnish a certain number of vessels, for the protection of the trade and coasts of the island. He did not venture to urge that they should be required to pay a pecuniary tax for that object, still less that the impost should be laid on all the counties of the kingdom, and that at such times, and to such extent, as the sovereign should deem expedient. Noy did not live to see his limited

precedent worked out in this manner, so as to render the maxim that Englishmen are not to be taxed without their consent an utter mockery.

Concerning Wentworth, Mr. Brodie has shewn that his avowal of popular principles was not so early as we have been accustomed to suppose; and Guizot has called attention to particulars which shew that the loud patriotic professions in which it was the pleasure of Wentworth to indulge during the discussions in parliament on the memorable Petition of Right, had been preceded by a cautious neutrality, connected with such indications as leave us no room to doubt that his declamation as one of the patriotic party at that time, was the effect, not of any real sympathy with popular freedom, but of circumstances which seemed just then to have shut the court against him. Among the immediate rewards bestowed on this "grand apostate from the cause of the people," as he was then called, were, the honour of a peerage; the acknowledgment of a claim which he made to royal blood, through Margaret, the grandmother of Henry VII.; and the office of president of the council of York, which, with its enlarged jurisdiction as placed in his hands, gave him a delegated sovereignty, freed from the checks of the common law, and extending to no small portion of the kingdom. His former friends looked with astonishment on these events, and not a few with feelings that were no good omen for the peace of the new courtier. No space had intervened between what by profession he had been, and what he now became, to leave any room for the most abundant charity to suggest the possible sincerity of the apparent change. Having ruled the north of England four years, through the medium of the court of York, he was called to the dignity of viceroy in Ireland; and the system of intimidation on which he had acted in England,

was then extended to the sister kingdom on a much larger scale, and with greater promise of success. It is certain, from many parts of his conduct which drew upon him the resentment of his contemporaries, and from documents which have since come to light, that the great policy of Strafford, from the time of quitting his connexion with the patriots, was to dispense with the laws wherever they were found to be a restraint on the pleasure of the sovereign; or, using his own words, “for ever to vindicate royalty from the conditions and restraints of subjects,” and thus to substitute for the monarchy of the English constitution, one “as absolute as any in the world can be.”*

Into such hands, then, did the government of these kingdoms fall when Charles dismissed his third parliament, and the policy of these men proved as little acceptable to the nation as their character. The young king endeavoured to persuade himself that the conduct of his successive parliaments, in opposing Buckingham, in manifesting so much distrust of the court and the government, and in making such efforts to place the property and the persons of Englishmen under the jealous guardianship of the acknowledged laws of the land, did not represent the spirit of the people of England; and concluding that the nation was less opposed to a government by prerogative than any house of commons which he had found it possible to convene, he resolved on making a decided experiment upon its patience under an administration of that nature. But this persuasion of the monarch was ill-founded, and his policy only served to diffuse and strengthen the feeling which he deplored. In the absence of supplies from parliament, it became necessary that unusual expedients should be adopted

* Strafford Papers, I. 341, 343, 344; II. 13—22, *ab alibi*.

to replenish the exchequer. Compulsory knighthood; the revival of the forest laws; charters of monopoly in trade; proclamations issued with the authority of statutes; ship-money; the prosecution of the Puritans and others in the courts of high commission and star-chamber — powers which could create offences and penalties almost at will—all contributed to loosen the securities of property and freedom, and to threaten the permanent establishment of absolute power. As no party had any interest in such a course of affairs, except the band of courtiers, most of them feeble men, and nearly all of them men of little or no principle, who were immediately occupied in carrying it forward, it was at length regarded by the great majority of men in all ranks—the nobility, the gentry, and the body of the people—with sorrow and indignation. There was a minority, indeed, even to the close of this period, consisting mostly of “lords and gentlemen, by whom the pressures of the government were not much felt,” who “did nothing but applaud the happiness of England, and called them ungrateful and factious spirits who complained of the breach of laws and liberties. The kingdom, they said, abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kind of elegances, more than ever. That it was for the honour of a people that the monarch should live splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his prerogative, which would bring him into the greater esteem with other princes, and more enable him to prevail in treaties; that what they suffered by monopolies was insensible, and not grievous, if compared with other states; that the Duke of Tuscany sat heavier on his people in that very kind; that the French king had made himself an absolute lord, and quite depressed the power of parliaments, which had been there as great as in any kingdom, and yet that France flourished and the gentry lived well; that the

Austrian princes, especially in Spain, laid heavy burdens on their subjects. The courtiers would begin to dispute about parliaments in their ordinary discourse, and hoped the king should never need any more parliaments. Some of the gravest statesmen and privy councillors would ordinarily laugh at the ancient language of England when the word liberty of the subject was named.”*

That the labours of these state artists, who would have modelled the English government after the pattern supplied to them by France, Tuscany, and Spain, were not successful, we owe to various causes, but especially to the fact, that the intelligence and virtue of our people were of a much higher order than had obtained among the people of those countries. When Laud had goaded the Scottish nation into rebellion, by his arbitrary meddling with their ecclesiastical affairs, the time arrived in which the feeling of England, with regard to its recent government, could be expressed, and the result was, the necessity laid upon the king to abandon the policy he had assumed, and to return to the old pathways of the constitution by assembling a parliament. And now the time had come, when Cromwell, Hampden, Pym, St. John, Lord Say, the Duke of Bedford, and others, who, since 1629, had often conferred in secret as to the best means of preventing the fixed thralldom of their country, resumed their place in the national senate, and applied themselves with a bold determination to secure the object of their solicitude.

Cromwell sat in the Long Parliament for the town of Cambridge, and concurred with that assembly in restoring silenced ministers; in the impeachment of Strafford, Laud,

* May's History of the Long Parliament.

and other civil and ecclesiastical delinquents ; in putting an end to the courts of star-chamber and high commission ; in passing the triennial bill ; and in adopting its resolutions concerning proclamations, ship-money, and the duties at the ports. It might be clearly shewn that in all these measures, which were the great acts of its early days, the labours of that memorable parliament were not devised to innovate upon the ancient constitution, so much as to restore it. But the trial of Strafford, which followed in the train of these measures, is that point in the history of the long parliament from which its proceedings begin to partake of a mixed character ; not often, indeed, becoming so censurable as its enemies represent, but too frequently of a complexion not to be justified without conceding much in favour of its leaders, on account of the circumstances in which they were placed. Two evils, which soon became the parents of many more, resulted immediately from the success of the popular party in demanding the life of Strafford,—the king, on account of the necessity thus laid upon him to become accessory to the death of a servant of the crown whom he did not judge to be worthy of death, became more difficult than ever to reconcile ; at the same time, the great patriotic party, which had been on the whole agreed in their estimate of the past, and also with regard to the measures necessary for the future, now began to shew strong signs of discord.

Strafford was executed in May, Charles left London to be present at the opening of the session of parliament in Scotland in August, and returned to the capital in November. During his Majesty's visit in Scotland, the dark project known by the name of " the Incident " became known, and seemed to justify the more obnoxious of the patriots in fearing

that the king would not regret to see them removed by almost any means that might be employed for that purpose. At the same time, apprehensions of this nature were strengthened by the news of the massacre of the protestants in Ireland, the Irish chieftains having published a declaration in which they asserted that they had taken up arms to punish the enemies of the royal authority, and in obedience to a commission from the king, which they also published. That commission was probably a forgery; but multitudes regarded it as authentic, or looked upon it with much misgiving. In the meanwhile, the king returned to London, where he was entertained by the Lord Mayor and the citizens, and witnessed a greater display of popular feeling in his favour than had happened to him for many years.

But whatever bespoke the returning power of the king, gave new strength to the fears of the men who had incurred his displeasure. Charles had now yielded for some time to the stream, but it had not been without visible reluctance; and few could doubt that were he possessed of the power, he would not be at a loss for the casuistry with which to undo at pleasure, whatever he had done under constraint. Through this reign and the last, the men who exposed themselves to the displeasure of the government by their conduct in parliament, had been called almost uniformly to suffer from the resentment of the court, as soon as the parliament was dissolved; and the present leaders of the commons were seriously apprehensive that the hand of no common oppression might descend upon them, if suddenly reduced to their private capacity. One of the last acts of Charles before going to Scotland was to sanction a second project for bringing the army to London, to overawe the two houses.



This fear of the consequences that might be found attendant on a sudden dissolution, had led the parliament to introduce a bill which, in three days, placed it in a state equally independent of the crown and of the people, by declaring that it should not be dissolved without its own consent. This bill was passed amidst the excitement attending the condemnation and execution of Strafford. That there was neither law nor precedent to be urged in its favour is unquestionable; and how far the circumstances which were pleaded as requiring it were such as to justify the adoption of it, is a point that will be variously judged. It was to strengthen the security derived from that measure, by preventing any dangerous re-action in the public mind, that the commons prepared the memorable "Remonstrance," which they presented to the king soon after his return from Scotland. The purport of this address was to set forth the many evils which had resulted from bad government, ever since the king's accession, together with such remedies as had been, or remained still to be applied. Charles could not fail to see from this paper, that a resolution had been formed by the popular party in the commons, to leave no matter that might be employed to the damage of the liberties of the kingdom subject to his immediate control. Its discussion called forth one of the most ardent and protracted debates in the history of parliament; and the difference of judgment which existed in that assembly with respect to it still exists. What the one party described as necessary to convince the king of the great inexpediency and injustice of the policy which his ministers had pursued, and so to bring him back to better courses, was denounced by the other as only tending to irritate his already wounded feelings, and to lower his reputation both at home and abroad. The "Remonstrance" was at length carried, but

it was by a majority of nine only. Thus sanctioned, it was printed under the direction of the house, and extensively circulated. So far were the leading men in the commons from regarding their position at this moment as placing them beyond any danger from the resentment of the king, that at the conclusion of this debate, Cromwell assured Falkland, he would have sold all and left the kingdom, if his party had not proved strong enough to carry that question.* This measure was soon followed by the attempt of the king to seize the five members; a proceeding which his apologists admit was sufficient to confirm the worst suspicions of his enemies concerning his intentions towards them.† The great demand of the commons from that time was, that the command of the forces should not rest with the king, but be vested in the two houses. Henceforward their policy bespeaks the greatest distrust of the king's sincerity, and a fixed determination to look to his weakness as their only security. These, however, were terms of settlement which Charles could never be brought to admit.‡ He withdrew from the capital to York. From that place a number of papers were issued, in which every available argument was employed in justification of the king, as refusing further compliance with the demands of the parliament; and Charles promised, in the most solemn manner, to abide by the concessions which he had already made, and to govern in future according to law. By this means a powerful party was assembled at York, and the

* Life of Clarendon, I. 85—87. Rushworth, IV. 438—451.

† Hume, *ubi supra*. According to the reasoning which prevailed in the court at this juncture, whatever had been procured from the king by force, was "in itself null," Clarendon's Hist. II. 251, 252.

‡ "Keep the militia," said Henrietta; "that will bring back everything:" and Charles so far agreed with his consort, that when his compliance on this point was strongly urged at York, he answered with indignation, "By God, not for an hour." Rushworth, IV. 533.

monarch employed himself in making all the preparations within his power for deciding the controversy by the sword.

On the whole, it was a melancholy prospect which now opened upon the country. Success in the great conflict about to commence was not to be expected on either side, without consequences dangerous to the liberties and welfare of the country. Judging from its recent conduct, the parliament was not likely to make, in all respects, the most equitable use of its advantages, should the scale turn in its favour ; while on the part of the king, should success attend his arms, the only ground on which it was possible to hope that he would stop somewhere short of absolute monarchy was derived from the better character of many who were now among his followers, many of them men of great virtue and ability, but who, it might well be feared, would prove very feeble securities for English freedom in such a posture of affairs.

In judging of the times of Cromwell, and of the nature of that genius which gave him the ascendancy to which he ultimately attained, it is indispensable that a clear and comprehensive idea should be formed with regard to the character of the men who acted with most effect on both sides during the civil war. It was Cromwell, greatly more than any other man, who subdued the one party in this memorable contest ; and we know that he lived to supersede some of the most distinguished names in the other. The character of the men over whom he exercised this species of mastery, belongs as much to his history as the immediate steps by which he gained the successive stages of his power.

Among those who had opposed themselves to the exorbitant power of the crown and the hierarchy at the meeting

of the Long Parliament, and who afterwards began to look on the real or supposed designs of the patriots with so much jealousy as to change sides, the most considerable persons were, Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, Lord Falkland, the Earls of Southampton, Hertford, and Bristol, Lord Digby, and Sir John Colepeper. With these, mention may be made of the Lords Paget and Lovelace, of Sir Hugh Cholmely, and Colonel Goring. Paget appears to have been one of the most active among the peers in supporting the prosecution of Strafford, and similar measures; but as the war approached, he was among the first to join the royal standard. He raised a regiment of infantry at his own charge, and further to propitiate the court, made disclosures of everything he knew concerning the intentions and plans of the men with whom he had acted, imputing designs to his former colleagues which their enemies are said to have treated as too bad to be worthy of credit. Lovelace concealed his altered preference, and endeavoured to serve the royal cause by acting as a spy on the proceedings of the parliament. Cholmely wore the mask until the arrival of the queen, when he betrayed his trust as governor of the castle of Scarborough. But these circumstances include nearly all we know concerning the history of these persons.

Goring intrigued much with the leaders of the parliament on the approach of the war, but always for the purposes of deception. The old associates of this man, and his rooted profligacy, should have been a sufficient prognostic of his designs. In no man of that time were the bad points in the character of the cavalier more strongly marked. His profanity, debauchery, and licence of all sorts, knew no bounds. These habits, and nothing a jot more reputable, seem to have made him a royalist, and made

him reckless of principle and decency wherever the cause of his party was concerned. When taken in his own snares, or exposed by his excesses or duplicity to the rebuke of his superiors, no man could put on the shy, awkward, contrite delinquent with so much effect. It is not easy to say which was the most remarkable in him—his power of acting the knave, so as to impose on the most prejudiced and incredulous; or the buoyant ingenuity of his temper, which served him in every exigency. He no doubt felt a pleasure in being able to place the town of Portsmouth in the hands of the king; but we may rest assured, that to relate over his cups the manner in which he had outwitted the godly hypocrites who placed him in the trust which he thus betrayed, afforded him an infinitely greater delight. The license of his followers in the west,—of his “lambs,” as this precious innocent was wont to call them,—made his name infamous for several generations.

But if there was little in the character of the four persons just mentioned to add weight to any cause, a different estimate must be formed of the other names with which they are here classed. Hyde, on the meeting of the Long Parliament, denounced ship money, and many similar abuses, with a vehemence hardly inferior to that of the most sturdy of the patriots. But when the proposed reform of the church was carried so far as to appear to him to threaten its existence; and when the excitement connected with the trial of Strafford betrayed the popular leaders into the use of language, and the adoption of measures, which partook more, in his view, of violence, than of equity or law, he withdrew, first secretly, and afterwards openly, to the side of the court. In what followed, there is evidence enough, that his principles and sympathies were nearly all in favour of vesting a greater power in the crown than had been.

ceded to it by the constitution, and that his being found among the advocates of popular principles, even for a few short months, is to be attributed solely to the extravagance of the abuses which had become prevalent during the preceding period. He had no sooner found, or imagined, an occasion for falling back from that unnatural position, than he employed himself with much ardour in support of the prerogative. His pen was his only weapon; but with that alone he did more than any man in England to break the force of that adherence to the cause of the parliament, which, in consequence of the late arbitrary conduct of the king, had manifested itself in every part of the country, and was the person, beyond all others, whose labours tended to place the royal cause on the footing which enabled Charles to look with confidence of success to the chances of a civil war. The style of his various papers, circulated under the royal sanction everywhere through the kingdom, would be described in our day, in common with that of his history, as massy and cumbrous; but his argument was generally characterized by clearness, continuity, and force, such as his opponents could rarely equal, and which wanted but a better cause to have been irresistible. Few men became parties to the civil war with a more fixed hostility to the popular elements of the constitution; and notwithstanding the pious-seeming talk in which he frequently indulged, and the general propriety and gravity of his deportment, his moral scruples in regard to the means which might be employed to place the power of the commons in strict subordination to that of the peerage and the crown, were not of a very delicate description. He was better acquainted with the historians of Greece and Rome, than with the course of events which had generated and matured the principles of the English constitution. His erudition, in this respect,

rarely passes beyond the age of the Tudors, and his selection of precedents even there, often betrays much ignorance or partiality.

Falkland was the intimate friend of Clarendon, and if inferior to him in compass of understanding, and power of observation, was his equal in learning, and much his superior in the refinement and impartiality of his moral sentiments. Clarendon himself never appears to more advantage than when paying his sincere tribute of admiration and affection to the memory of this rarely-gifted person; and it is, in fact, to the elaborate efforts of his friendship in this way, that Falkland is chiefly indebted for his fame. The ample fortune placed at his disposal in the twentieth year of his age, was not allowed to divert his attention from his studies. Avoiding the court and the capital, he fixed his residence within ten miles of Oxford, and, by his taste and hospitality, made his home a favourite resort of the most learned and estimable persons in the university—"many of those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversations," being examined in the intercourse which took place there with the freedom proper only to such select conferences. Falkland's first appearance in public was as a member of the parliament assembled in 1627. He was a close observer of what passed in the house of commons then convened, and became more than ever attached to the institution of parliaments, so that his previous dissatisfaction with the policy of the court was much increased by the abrupt dissolution which followed. But the ideal world, which his books and his secluded life had contributed to place around him, was subsequently much shaken and disordered, by the violence of the collisions between the parties of the real world, in which he began to act his part. If we give Clarendon credit for the

sincerity of his avowed dissatisfaction with the spirit and measures of the Long Parliament from about the time when it passed and published its "remonstrance," it is less difficult to make the same concession in favour of Falkland. It is certain that from that time they began to oppose themselves to the policy of the leaders of the commons; that in so doing both were laid open to the overtures of the court; and that by both, those overtures were, ere long, accepted. But the causes which unsettled the mind of Falkland as a parliamentarian, soon began to operate upon him to the same effect as a royalist. He soon discovered, it would seem, that the maxims and temper of the majority among those to whom he had gone over, were not less at variance with his own character and preferences than those of the least moderate men in the party which he had forsaken. In fact, his uneasiness, arising in a great measure from this source, is so manifest, that, had his life been spared, it is not easy to say what his ultimate course would have been. He fell in 1643, in the first battle of Newbury. He was then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

The secession of the Earl of Southampton from the popular cause was a more serious loss to that interest than the defection of Falkland, whose youth and indecision did not favour his making any strong impression on the times. Southampton was held in general and high estimation. He was a nobleman of excellent parts, and ready elocution; governed by moderate views, and by a more enlightened sense of honour, and more humane feeling, than the greater number, even in the better class, among the party to which he joined himself in 1642. His aim was to bring about a moderate adjustment of the claims of both parties, and not to favour the absolute triumph of

either. No man did more to prevent the unsheathing of the sword ; and when that event could be no longer deferred, he never failed to echo Falkland's frequent call for peace.

The Marquis of Hertford was a person of more scholarship than Southampton, but less able in council, less active, and though somewhat prominent in the early part of the war, was too much attached to private life, and not sufficiently aided in his new policy as a royalist by those who were dependent on him to become very formidable as the antagonist of his old friends. The lethargy of his habits was the principal objection to his appointment, through the influence of the popular party in 1642, as superintendant in the education of the Prince of Wales ; but in the field he was never accounted deficient in energy or courage.

Few noblemen had been placed in circumstances more unfriendly to a favourable estimate of the character of the king than the Earl of Bristol. His part in the negotiations with regard to the Spanish match, and the treatment which he had received in connexion with that business, both from Buckingham and from Charles, called into exercise the lofty pride, the high physical and moral courage, and the experience in affairs, by which he was distinguished. Bristol was, moreover, a person of good presence, and his parts, which were considerable, had been improved by education ; but as a speaker he was much too prolix to produce impression, and too readily betrayed into passionate language when opposed. He acted for a time with the improvement party in the upper house, but more as the effect of the position in which he happened to be placed with regard to the court, than in consequence of any fixed principle or real solicitude about matters of good government.

Having uttered some strong expressions in his place in parliament, which gave great umbrage to some of the liberal party there, he was committed to the Tower; and though his release took place only two days later, the occurrence, as might have been expected, was enough to decide the withdrawal of his doubtful allegiance from those who had so dealt with him. There was much, however, in his temper, and still more in the nature of the public disagreement which had taken place between him and the king, to make it hardly possible that any real attachment should subsist on either side. In the rank of the patriots the Earl of Bristol was a person out of place, from the want of any real sympathy with the spirit of freedom; and in the councils and operations of the royalists he was always impotent, from the want of cordial association with the king, and with those most favoured by him.

Lord Digby, the eldest son of this nobleman, took a more effective part in public affairs than his father, both during the civil war and for some time before. As the second Earl of Bristol, he exhibited articles of impeachment against Clarendon soon after the Restoration; and the account given of him in the History of the Rebellion, which was written subsequently to that proceeding, should always be read with this fact in mind. On the whole, however, Clarendon has given a more just report of his antagonist than we should have expected from a person so liable to the influence of strong prejudice. It is admitted that he was a person of eminent parts and acquirements, and that the care bestowed on his education had enriched his mind with such various knowledge, that he could offer pertinent observations on nearly all subjects. We learn, however, from other sources, as well as from Clarendon, that the ability of Digby in some respects, was not more remarkable

than his infirmity in others. In the house of commons, his clear, bold, masculine eloquence, generally produced a powerful effect; but the ardour of his passions, and the force of his imagination, which contributed to his efficiency as a speaker, were not sufficiently controlled by the calm and comprehensive views, or by the sound moral feeling, so important to the statesman. His schemes, in consequence, were always verging on the romantic and impracticable, much to the detriment of the king's affairs; for though Charles was not likely to act upon extravagant suggestions, he was so far disposed to entertain new projects, as to be frequently detained by some *ignis fatuus* of that sort, from pursuing the course, at the proper moment, which circumstances had placed before him. Sir Philip Warwick observes, that this eccentric tendency in the genius of Digby was so obvious, that wise men often spoke of his cogitations as an apt illustration of the saying of Lord Bacon, who remarks, "there are some things which have more wonder in them than worth." It is clear that ambition was his ruling passion, and that it often took the form of a preposterous vanity, or of a desire to be wondered at—a result which can occasion no surprise when we take into consideration the practical weakness of his judgment, the loose texture of his principles, and his total want of generosity, connected as these defects had always been with great energy of temperament in all other respects, and a restlessness which nothing could control. His amours, and other irregularities, involved him in expense and embarrassment, which attended him to the end of his days, and often irritated him almost to madness.

The weak points, however, in the character of Digby were not such as to prevent the king from placing much confidence in his judgment, particularly in the direction of

military affairs, and on the death of Falkland he was raised to the office of secretary of state. After the battle of Naseby, he made a fruitless attempt to join the standard of Montrose in Scotland—a chief whose passion for the daring and the marvellous was kindred to his own, but more likely to attract admiration at a distance, than to have conduced to harmonious operation, had two such geniuses been required to act together. Subsequently, Digby joined himself to the exiled court; engaged in the wars of the continent; applied himself to the study of astrology; and returned at the Restoration an avowed catholic. The best apology for his credence in the old science of the stars, next to that afforded by the prevalent notions of his times, is founded on the events of his own life, for in the case of few men has destiny appeared to have had more to do, often making his fate apparently desperate, as if for the purpose of extricating him by means of the most improbable expedients.

Digby, whose early opposition to the court, like that of his father, sprung more from the circumstance of his having quarrelled with it, than from any higher consideration, was among the first to desert the cause of the people. He afterwards made great effort to induce Hyde, Falkland, and Colepeper, to follow his example, and prevailed on the king to turn the balance of hesitation on the part of those distinguished persons, by some distinct assurance of his favour. Colepeper, though made master of the rolls, was a man of more experience in military than in civil affairs. He was a person, however, of some learning, possessing a clear and comprehensive understanding, and most tenacious memory, and was distinguished by a facility in stating all that might be conceived as telling for or against the measures which came under his notice. By this schoolman method of

viewing questions, he often generated doubt in the minds of others, and greatly impeded the decisions of his own judgment; but when satisfied himself, it was sure to be on such grounds as tended to the same result in the minds of those whom he was desirous to carry along with him. He needed the aid of all his better qualities as means of providing against the impression likely to result from the imperfections of his temper, and the roughness of his elocution. He never forgave the late ambitious meddling of the ruling clergy, and it was too much the habit of Charles to regard a want of zeal in the cause of the bishops as the same thing with a want of religion.

When it is remembered that of the eighty peers who sat on the trial of Strafford, thirty-five only were consenting to his death, not more than forty-six being present when the house came to its decision; and also that more than fifty commoners were denounced by the people as Straffordians, and betrayers of their country, because they had voted against that course of proceeding, it must be clear that the secession from the constitutional party which soon followed was in fact much more considerable than the list of names to which we have just now adverted would indicate. These names, however, include the persons whose change attracted most observation, and produced the greatest effect, and our next step will be to glance at the general complexion of the party with which these leading men now became associated.

On the side of the royalists, no man drew his sword more promptly, or wielded it with more determination, than the Earl of Northampton, though, until the approach of the war, he had rarely given much attention to public affairs. As that crisis came on, he relinquished the ease and licence in which men of his rank and fortune so

generally passed their time, and before the king had set up his standard at Nottingham, appeared at the head of his followers in Warwickshire, to watch the motions of Lord Brooke. He raised a troop of horse and a regiment of foot at his own cost, and appointed his four sons as officers under him. All the perils and hardships of a soldier's life he endured with the readiness of one who had grown up among them. His high feudal temper taught him to look with no small contempt on the band of commoners at Westminster, who had dared to talk of placing the power of his order, and of the crown, in subordination to their upstart notions about freedom and its securities. He often spoke of falling in such a contest as the noblest end that could await him, and soon after the commencement of the war he reaped the honour which he professed to covet. At Hopton Heath his horse was shot from under him in a charge, which separated him from the main body of his followers, and left him at the mercy of his enemies. When called upon to surrender, he answered, in the fulness of his scorn, that he was not born to accept of favour from "base rogues and rebels," and irritated by this return, as the said rogues thought, of insolence for clemency, they speedily numbered him with the slain.

Loyalty like that of Northampton, the effect almost entirely of early feeling and association, prevailed widely, we may perhaps say generally, with his party. It was commonly the ally of a chivalrous courage, which, like itself, partook more of ardour than reflection, and, in some instances, as in the case of Sir Bevil Grenvil, was wedded to dispositions the most honourable and generous. The gentleman last mentioned closed his short career at the battle of Lansdown. His brother, Sir Richard Grenvil, long survived — the worthy being taken, and the worth-

less left. This Sir Richard was a man devoid of principle and humanity, both in public and private life. Treachery, cruelty, and rapine, seem to have been his element. He affected to be a zealous parliamentary, until the moment arrived in which he might betray his party with the greatest advantage to himself; and from that time his military talent sufficed to procure him frequent employment in important trusts, until the complaints preferred against him from all parts, and his refusal to obey the orders of the Prince of Wales, led to his dismissal. In Ireland, and through the West of England, he was accustomed to fine, imprison, and execute, on the most false and frivolous pretences. He saw five men leaving a coppice near Plymouth, bearing away bundles of fire-wood without permission, and he spared the life of one, on condition of his hanging the other four upon the spot. In Ireland he dragged the aged from their beds to hang them in front of their own dwellings, on the charge of refusing to discover their treasures. Monstrous as this may seem, even this man had his friends in the royal household, and in the army, who raised loud complaints at his being put aside; and Charles himself bestowed upon him large estates in the west, belonging to Lord Roberts, and to the Earl of Bedford. All these facts we learn from Clarendon.

Lord Wilmot shared too largely in the licence which disgraced the conduct of Sir Richard Grenvil; but was not chargeable with his want of honour, and was much less disposed to cruelty or oppression. He was, in fact, a finished cavalier, excelling in the gaiety, the address, and the good fellowship which distinguished that character, and was a royalist, as the consequence principally of being a complete man of fashion. He was active and courageous, but his impatient temper unfitted him for taking a com-

prehensive view of affairs, and gave so much uncertainty to his judgment, that his notions to-day were always liable to be changed by new considerations to-morrow. His agreeable manners gave him considerable influence in the army, particularly with the cavalry; but his ambition and vacillation made him an object of distrust even with his friends, and exposed him to so many instances of mortification, that he withdrew from the war some time before its close. In the reign of Charles II., Wilmot is but too well known as the licentious Lord Rochester.

Prince Rupert and Wilmot rarely agreed, except when some censure was to be passed on persons who interfered with military operations without experience in them. The prince had grown up a military adventurer amidst the wars of Germany, and brought more impetuosity than discretion to his intercourse with society, and to his duties as a soldier. His self-confidence was boundless, and his bearing towards those with whom he acted, haughty and reckless. But his never-failing courage, his military skill, and his exhaustless energy, raised him to the chief command after the second battle of Newbury. The liberties of the country were with him a matter of no concern. He would have laid them prostrate at a stroke. It scarcely need be added that Rupert was nephew to the king. When the issues of the war compelled him to leave the country, he betook himself to the sea, partly for the purpose of inflicting damage on the commerce and navy of the island, and partly with the hope of facilitating the introduction of succour to the royalists from the continent. His powers of mischief, however, were too narrowly watched to be exercised with much effect.

When we turn from men of this description to some of their confederates, it is not difficult to fix on those concerning whom a very different language may be employed.

Such persons were, the Earl of Carnarvon, Sir Jacob Astley, and Sir Ralph Hopton, all of whom appear to have become parties to the war from a conviction of its social justice, their conduct being such, on all occasions, as to bespeak their high sense of honour, and their opposition to all unnecessary severity. The Earl of Carnarvon was a nobleman whose parts had been cultivated by study, but much more by travel, in which he had indulged to a greater extent than was usual in that age, even with persons of rank. His conduct previous to the beginning of the war, had not been without licence and frivolities; but infirmities of that sort all disappeared as he became engaged in the great national conflict. He possessed much of the courage which distinguished Rupert, but with it a self-possession in action which that otherwise expert captain was never to acquire. His early death in 1643 was in many respects a sensible loss to his party. Sir Jacob Astley was a man of few words; but added to his excellent moral qualities great promptitude and energy as a soldier. The want of the same readiness and decision was almost the only defect in the character of Sir Ralph Hopton; and on this account, he never rose to those more responsible offices in the army, that might, on every other account, have been safely committed to him. His understanding, though good, seemed to be deficient in the grasp and quickness necessary to satisfy his moral scruples, and to give steadiness to his plans. His industry was unceasing; and he stood alone among his coadjutors in the exhaustless generosity of his temper. On the whole, Sir Ralph Hopton was the most popular man in the army; and that he was so, is a circumstance which speaks more to the credit of that body, than almost any other in its history, since we learn from Clarendon that he was a man who “abhorred enough the licence and levities with which he saw too many corrupted.”

The terms in which history has spoken of these estimable men, may be applied with little modification to Sir George Lisle and Lord Capel, who became prisoners on the surrender of Colchester, in 1647. Lisle, who always displayed the most admirable courage in the field, so as to inspire his followers almost beyond any other person with the sort of confidence which so often leads to success, is said to have been one of the most mild and amiable of mankind in his general manners. In common with Capel, he appears to have been governed by a loyalty more the effect of conventional and hereditary feeling, than of any intelligent principle. But nothing could be more generous and devoted than the service which these persons rendered to their sovereign. Capel joined the king at York: he had been a stranger to the court previously; but from that time he placed the ties which bound him to an affectionate wife, and an interesting family of children, in constant subjection to his sense of public duty. These excellent men suffered death, as offenders against an ordinance which had declared all parties who should appear in arms against the existing government liable to the penalties of treason.

Over the northern counties, until the battle of Marston Moor, the chief command was vested in the Earl of Newcastle, a nobleman, whose time had been given to poetry and music, and to some kindred amusements, more than to the command of armies or the study of politics; and whose mind, moulded by no independent reflection, but wholly by the circumstances of birth and station, made its selection, as matter of course, on the side of monarchy and the church, those institutions being regarded as supports of each other, and of his own order. By the influence, and ample resources of the Earl of Newcastle, a formidable army was soon brought together for the purpose of securing

the northern counties to the service of the king. Nor was he to be removed from that quarter of the kingdom by any of the exigencies which pressed elsewhere, though commands to that effect sometimes came in the name of the king. This spirit of insubordination led to serious differences between the Earl and Prince Rupert on the eve of the battle of Marston Moor; and after the disastrous issue of that day, the earl consulted his taste by relinquishing the profession of arms, and his safety by leaving the kingdom.

In the course of this very general view of the character of the men who acted with more or less efficiency as royalists, mention should be made of the Duke of Richmond, and of the Lords Pawlet and Seymour. Richmond was related to the king, and was much indebted to the royal favour and bounty. On the breaking out of the troubles in Scotland, he opposed the popular feeling with so little consideration as to make himself very obnoxious. But while his temper disposed him to act with decision, his want of judgment, or of moral courage, exposed him to much hesitation in regard to the best means by which to seek the accomplishments of his wishes; and he failed, on this account, to produce any feeling of confidence in the minds he was sometimes concerned to influence. He attended the remains of the king when laid in the royal chapel at Windsor, having expended the greater part of his fortune in support of the war.

The Lords Pawlet and Seymour were persons of much influence in the western counties, and acted with advantage to the royal cause in that division of the kingdom during the early part of this contest. Seymour was brother to the Marquis of Hertford; and if he brought less activity and energy to the duties of his profession than Pawlet, the cause may be found in his case, as in that of many beside,—in

the strength of his attachment to domestic and private life. Of Sir Marmaduke Langdale little more can be said, than that he was, perhaps, a better soldier than either of these persons, and a devoted royalist. Of the Earl of Derby, too, it may suffice to say, that he was a nobleman of integrity and courage, but as remarkable for his pride as for his loyalty. The former passion made him a person of little influence; the latter, as every history records, cost him his life.

The names mentioned in this short retrospect, include all the royalists who were distinguished by their talent or conduct during the civil war. The king could boast of many more who brought with them the influence of rank and fortune, but had little else to place at his disposal. Such were the Earls of Leicester and Salisbury, during the short time in which they could be regarded as royalists—men whose titles lead the imagination back to the times of the great men who rose high in the councils of Elizabeth, and in the enterprizes of her reign. But Charles saw little in the possessors of those titles to remind him of the splendour and power which had distinguished the men from whom they were derived. The Earl of Berkshire, and Lord Dunsmore, were men of no capacity or influence; the former was indebted to his connexion with Southampton, who had married his daughter, for the little respect paid to him; and, with the exception, perhaps, of Sir Charles Lucas, was the least endurable specimen of ill-temper to be found in his party. Concerning Lord Ferdinando Hastings, sixth Earl of Huntingdon, we only know that he joined the royal standard soon after it was set up at Nottingham, and was among the first to run away from it at Edgehill. The Earl of Westmorland gave in his adhesion to the royal cause at York, but whether he did any-

thing, either in council or the field, to make his adhesion of value, we find not. The same may be said of Lord Rich, and of the Earl of Newport; and Lord Rivers is distinguished from these personages only as having made himself in some way more obnoxious to the parliament. The Earl of Bath appears to have been one of those little calculators who sometimes find that there are occasions when a rash ultraism would not have been so costly as hollow pretences to neutrality. Lord Mohun, also, seems to have been much inclined to this trimming school of politicians. Lord Conway, whose valorous doings at Newburn left him little chance of being trusted with any military enterprise, chose to act the spy at Westminster, until it became necessary that he should seek an asylum in Oxford, where, the treason having served its purpose, the traitor was allowed to sink into obscurity. Of Lord Newark, little more can be reported than that he was deemed worthy of a place among the royal commissioners during the treaty of Uxbridge. Herbert, better known as Earl of Glamorgan, and afterwards as Marquis of Worcester, was a person of more consideration than any of these parties. Though a catholic, he was entrusted by the king with the command of the forces raised in South Wales; but he is best known to us by the part he was induced to take in the treacherous negotiation between Charles and the confederate catholics in Ireland, in 1645. It is evident that the king placed much confidence in the ability and integrity of Glamorgan, though in the affairs of Ireland he suffered greatly from his well-meant exertions. The Earl of Monmouth was son to one of that class of persons who, in their idolatry of a court, forget that they have a country, and who do homage to the idol of their choice for one avowed object—self-advancement. We know nothing of the history of the second Earl of Monmouth

tending to shew that he was any great improvement on the first. We only know that his dignity died with him. In an enumeration of this sort, mention should be made of Lord Jermyn—a gentleman who knew how to please the queen, and who, building on that stock of merit, appears to have supposed that it was only necessary to make the effort in order to please everybody else. He sometimes drew his sword in the cause of the king, but was much more at home in the little gallantries and intrigues of a court than in the service of the camp, or the conduct of affairs. Sir John Berkeley was also a courtier and nothing more. Ashburnham was a person of the same class, and of little efficiency in anything.

So great was the diversity of character among the persons who became associated for the one object of aiding the king in his effort to lower the pretensions of the parliament. But the attraction of the one object which had brought these parties together, was not such as to render them of one mind with regard to the manner in which it should be prosecuted. Divided councils were inseparable from so much difference in ability and temper. Loyalty became subordinate, too frequently, to faction and intrigue. The letters of the king, and the general correspondence of the age, shew that Charles had to lament the prevalence of these evils among his followers from the beginning, and that he found them multiply as he became familiar with difficulties and reverses. Officers and men looked on their position about the sovereign as the result of their own free choice; and there was, in consequence, more of self-will in their proceedings than of that prompt obedience which is of so much importance to the success of military operations. Measures concerted amidst jarring councils, not unfrequently proved disastrous, as at the siege of Gloucester; and then

the time and energy that should have been employed in repairing the injury, were wasted, or rather much worse than wasted, in the work of recrimination. Men not accustomed to have to do with their fellows in circumstances somewhat similar, can form but an inadequate idea of the trial to which the constancy of the wiser and better meaning must have been exposed by such occurrences. The necessity of humouring ignorance, conceit, selfishness, and ill-temper, is at all times a hard necessity, but especially so when the object at stake is felt to be of the greatest moment.

It is observable in what has passed before us, that the royalists of most general ability were, for the greater part, men of moderate views. Such were Falkland, Southampton, Hertford, Hopton, and Astley. We cannot assign Clarendon or Digby a place in this honourable list, and the loyalty of Capel, of Lisle, and of some others of the same class, was too indiscriminate to merit the praise of wisdom or sobriety. It is equally evident, however, that the notions of these less considerate men, which were of course the more dangerous from being often allied with a reputation for integrity and talent, represented the feeling of the royalist army more nearly than those of their less partial coadjutors, and would no doubt have prevailed in the future councils of the monarch, had he been successful in the field. The bitter language in which this party was accustomed to speak of their opponents, accorded more with that which the king was always disposed to employ; and while their patriotism, or their policy, would have led them to recommend a sober and salutary exercise of the prerogative, they would gladly have restored that instrument of so much misrule to its full power as in the days of the Tudors, heedless of any custom

or statute that might point to such a power as dangerous to the liberties and happiness of the people. Southampton witnessed so much of this spirit, that next to the absolute prostration of the royalists, he would have lamented their uncontrolled ascendancy.

Among the peers who chose their place with the parliament, when appeal was made to the sword, the most considerable were, the Earls of Bedford, Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Manchester, and Warwick, and the Lords Say, Brooke, and Wharton.

William, Earl of Bedford at the commencement of the war, must be distinguished from Francis, Earl of Bedford, who died while the fate of Strafford was pending. The former earl, from his large wealth, his intelligence, and his moderation, was a person of great influence with the liberal party, and the medium of all important negotiations between them and the court. He was attached to the constitution, both in church and state, but the enemy of all arbitrary power. His liberal contributions to objects connected with the splendour and welfare of the church, and the urbanity of his deportment towards the ruling clergy, gave him a place in the favour of many who lamented his opposition to the persecuting laws against the non-conformist ministers, and the popular temper of his political preferences. At the time of his death, he was much occupied in endeavouring to reconcile his party to something less than capital punishment in the case of the Earl of Strafford, as the price of their own elevation to the offices of government. The next Earl of Bedford possessed neither the sound judgment, nor the decided sympathy with liberal principles, which distinguished his predecessor. He became general of the horse under the parliament, and fought in that capacity at Edgehill, but displayed little aptitude for

such a trust on any occasion, and withdrew to the court the following year. The reception given to him there, and also to the Earl of Clare, and the Earl of Holland, who accompanied him, was cold and distrustful. He was engaged on the side of the king in the first battle of Newbury, where he gave proof of courage, and subsequently made some advances in the royal favour; but returned soon afterwards to the parliament, professing to have been much more dissatisfied with the course of affairs at Oxford than with anything he had witnessed at Westminster. The Earl of Clare joined him in this return to his former confederates, and the Earl of Holland, not finding, as before remarked, the advancement among his old friends which his vanity taught him to expect, followed their example.

It is said, but is more matter of conjecture than certainty, that this injudicious treatment of these fickle personages prevented a similar manifestation of defection on the part of the Earl of Northumberland. Clarendon speaks of this nobleman as a person who, in 1641, possessed "the most esteemed and unblemished reputation, in court and country, of any person of his rank throughout the kingdom." His separation from the court at that time, did much to confirm the reports which were so widely circulated to its prejudice. Charles had conferred on him the order of the garter, had raised him to a place in the Privy Council, and, in 1637, had made him lord high admiral; in short, there were few persons whom the king had appeared to regard with so much esteem and confidence. But the stand which he made in favour of popular liberty was most decided. He did not scruple to declare in the upper house, that all persons opposed to the measure which required that the military power of the country should be placed at the disposal of the parliament

were enemies to the commonwealth. During the change, intrigue, and violence, which followed, he no doubt saw much on both sides to disapprove, but he never forsook the cause of the parliament; and so long as any vestige of the upper house remained, he appeared in his place. His opponents found so much difficulty in accounting for his conduct in any manner agreeable to themselves, that they commonly spoke of it as the effect of his being the proudest man in England, incapable of doing homage to a superior even in the person of his sovereign. But it should be remembered, that it was the father of the present nobleman, who, as Earl of Northumberland, had been placed under arrest on suspicion of being concerned in the gunpowder treason. The heavy fine and long imprisonment imposed on the ground of that suspicion, were not likely to produce any strong attachment to the house of Stuart, or to leave the sufferer insensible to the evils of a government by prerogative, supported by such engines of oppression as the star-chamber; and the son may be excused if found manifesting a strong sympathy in this respect with his sire. He is described as a person of graceful presence, though we do not derive this impression from the representation of him by Vandyke. The greatest decorum was observable in his general conduct, and in the government of his household; and the same idea of regularity and habitual self-control was conveyed by his measured conversation, and by the manner in which he acquitted himself in debate. His observations, which were never trivial or impertinent, appear to have derived much weight from the deliberation which characterized his manner as a speaker, and which tended to strengthen the favourable estimate generally entertained with regard to his understanding and integrity. In the dispute between the army

and parliament, in 1647, he withdrew to the former, not with the view of setting up the power of the sword, but in the hope of accomplishing a more equitable settlement by means of the council of officers, and the independent minority which accompanied him from the commons, than could be expected from the king, or from the presbyterian majority which ruled at Westminster. It was natural, when all such expedients had failed, that a man who could boast of having the blood of Charlemagne in his veins, should concur in the measures which led to the restoration of the exiled family.

Of the Earl of Pembroke mention has been made before. The Earl of Essex was a person of much higher reputation. Before the meeting of the Long Parliament, this nobleman had been engaged in the Palatine war, and in the service of the United Provinces. His strong feeling as a protestant, which led him to the Palatinate, was allied to an ardent love of liberty. No argument or persuasion could prevail on him to concur in any middle course towards Strafford; and when the moment for unsheathing the sword arrived, no man hazarded his life more willingly in the cause of the parliament. His enemies were constrained to speak of him as a person devoid of all selfish ambition; as little concerned about titles or preferments of any sort; as constant and ingenuous in his friendships; and incapable of a dishonourable action towards his greatest enemy, or for the sake of any possible object. His great defect, according to these persons, was a weakness of judgment, which taught him to think too favourably of his confederates, and also of his own power to control the dangerous elements which his high character and example tended so much to bring into action. But these errors, if such they may be called, were those of a generous nature, and

such as a wiser man, in the same circumstances, might well have entertained. The two houses, by a unanimous vote, appointed him commander-in-chief of the army raised by their authority; and he entered upon his high trust amidst the acclamations of his whole party. He felt, however, in regard to the power of the parliament, much as Southampton and some others felt in regard to the power of the king; and was, in consequence, more desirous of augmenting it only so far as might be necessary to secure a salutary adjustment of the questions at issue, than of seeing the absolute ascendancy of either party. But it was soon found that the slow, hesitating policy, which was the effect of such views, served to hold the war in a perpetual oscillation rather than to bring about a peace of any kind. It was to put an end to this timid and dangerous policy that the self-denying ordinance was passed, the immediate effect of which was to deprive all the then existing members of parliament, and Essex among the rest, of their military commissions, leaving them, at the same time, eligible to subsequent re-election at the pleasure of the two houses. There is reason to believe that this proceeding was not agreeable to Essex; and the parliament endeavoured to guard against his probable displeasure, by recording its grateful testimony to his past services. He had, indeed, always acquitted himself with fidelity and courage; and though he lived to see the constitution in church and state broken in upon to a much greater extent than he approved, he never betrayed the slightest disposition to forsake his old friends. He died in the early part of 1646, and was honoured with a stately funeral at the charge of the nation.

The Earl of Manchester possessed all the integrity, the sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the manly gene-

rosity of temper by which Essex was distinguished, and excelled him in the urbanity of his manners, and in a polished mildness of sentiment, which he retained unimpaired amidst the excess and violence inseparable from civil war. No man drew his sword with greater confidence in the justice of the cause in which it was to be employed, and no man was more concerned to limit the evils attendant on such contests by every possible exercise of humanity and courtesy. On his first appearance in public life, he was known as Lord Mandeville; and subsequently, through the influence of Buckingham, with whom he had become connected by marriage, he was raised to the peerage during the life of his father, as Baron of Kimbolton. Soon after the death of Buckingham, he married a daughter of the Earl of Warwick; and during the twelve years of misrule which preceded the meeting of the Long Parliament, he entered so fully into the spirit of the popular party, that we find Lord Kimbolton the only peer impeached by the king with the five members. In religion, he was a presbyterian, and if liable to censure at all, it was mainly on the ground of his leaning too readily to the side of intolerance from his sympathy with that party. He was also of the same mind with those who were not so much desirous of conquest, as of that moderate amount of advantage which they flattered themselves would suffice to bring about the most desirable settlement. The course of events tended very soon to shew the fallacy of such hopes, and he would at any time have gladly resigned a commission, which he had accepted with reluctance, and which demanded a sort of ability and experience, that his modesty and good sense would not allow him to suppose he possessed. But to be removed by the self-denying ordinance was so little palatable to him, that he retired from that time to private life, and

kept himself free from the struggle of parties, until the moment arrived for restoring the monarchy in the person of Charles II. Of Manchester, as of Falkland, we may say, that he was so far a wise and good man, as generally to discern where the path of justice and humanity lay, and was disposed, in ordinary times, to walk in it; but he lacked that deeper knowledge of human nature, and that firm texture of intellect, which is so necessary to the steady prosecution of a great object, when it is not only opposed in the most determined and reckless temper by its enemies, but placed, perhaps, at imminent hazard by the weakness or treachery of avowed friends. The infirmities of our poor nature do not often take the sagacious by surprise, and hence it does not often happen that they are chargeable with the folly of beginning to build without being able to finish.

The Earl of Warwick evinced much more perseverance in the popular cause than Manchester, but not as the effect of being in any respect a greater man. Tenacity of purpose may result from the various influence of circumstances, temper, habit, and narrow views, as well as from extraordinary compass and power of mind. While Laud was employing all the machinery of oppression to put down the puritans, the Earl of Warwick opened his doors to the silenced and persecuted clergy of that class, and always manifested a preference for the ministry of such persons. Not that his disposition or manners were those of the austere sect whom he thus took under his patronage; on the contrary, the wit and pleasantry of his conversation were of so free a description as to make his religion very doubtful in the esteem of the men who found in him so valuable a benefactor, and sufficed to place that question beyond all uncertainty with the court clergy, and the

royalists generally. But that he was a man of no virtue, as is loosely affirmed by Clarendon, does not appear from the facts of his history. An opposite inference indeed should be drawn from that source so far as it is known to us, and particularly from the great influence which it is admitted he possessed, both in parliament, and in all those parts of the country where he was best known. In fact, there is no room to question the fixed honesty of his political professions; and the position of the puritan clergy, as persecuted men, the manifest sincerity of their religious character, and the measure of attachment to the principles of general liberty which they always discovered, gave them a firm hold on his sympathy and respect, which he did not scruple to avow in a manner that bespoke his fearless integrity, and a susceptibility of generous feeling. He accepted the office of lord high admiral from the hands of the parliament; and when the monarchy, and his own order, were declared useless, he maintained a fast friendship with Cromwell, one of the latest acts of his life being to give his eldest son in marriage to a daughter of the Protector.

There was nothing of the pleasantry of Warwick in the manners of Lord Say. He betrayed, on the contrary, some leaning towards harshness and severity; in part, we may suppose, as the effect of natural temper, and in part as the result of contemplating with admiration those stern models of public virtue in the annals of Greece and Rome, with which his acknowledged scholarship had made him familiar. Something, also, of the same effect was no unnatural consequence of being obliged to regard himself, through so long a period, as thrown upon evil times. His entrance on public life was a little previous to the juncture when Buckingham deemed it politic to assume the language of the

patriot. The favourite professed himself anxious to obtain the assistance of so wise a head in prosecuting his new policy; but two natures less adapted for co-operation could hardly have been brought together. Say spoke of the experience of antiquity as a school of instruction in the mystery of government; and that, in the esteem of the shallow volatile personage with whom he had to deal, was to become a pedant. He dwelt, also, on the necessity of carrying out certain vigorous plans of reformation and improvement; but to act on such bold projects was, in the opinion of the favourite, to revolutionize the state, and to hazard its existence. All hope of any change for the better by means of such an instrument being vain, Say turned from the court to the country, and watched with solicitude every incident which seemed to promise that the time would come, in which it might be possible to place the arbitrary temper of the government under some wholesome control. During the gloomy interval from 1629 to 1640, no man did so much to sustain the hopes, and to regulate the proceedings, of the popular party through the kingdom; nor was his reputation as a person of eminent capacity, of sound views, and of great firmness of temper, confined to that party. In parliament he always spoke with effect, and was the first peer who declared against episcopacy; but in dispensing with the bishops, he was far from meaning to destroy the whole fabric of the church, as Clarendon is pleased to assert, nor was it ever his purpose to detract from the real strength of the monarchy or of the peerage. The king, however, learnt to regard him as so hostile to the just pretensions of the crown, that in a royal proclamation issued soon after the commencement of the war, the name of Say appears in a list of persons excepted from pardon, and on that account he was refused a safe

conduct when appointed by the parliament to treat with the royal commissioners at Oxford. His last effort to save the constitution was during the treaty at Newport, where, had his advice been taken, the king might have regained his throne, and, by degrees, as much of his power as would have been compatible with any feeling of safety on the part of his opponents.

Lord Brooke entered into the general views of Say on nearly all subjects. He had not the same acquaintance with books, but participated more freely in the notions and spirit of the puritans, so as to be governed in his public conduct in a greater measure by his religious feelings. He not unfrequently prayed extempore in the presence of his chaplain and soldiers, and is described by Richard Baxter as one of those superior natures who pass from the disorders of the best social system on earth to contemplate the perfect economy of a celestial commonwealth. "They who were acquainted with him," says Clarendon, "believed him to be well-natured and just, and rather seduced and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his passions or his conscience swayed him, he was, undoubtedly, one of those who could with most difficulty have been reconciled to the government of church or state; and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill-omen for peace, and was exceedingly lamented by that party, which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any man than in him." He displayed great activity in Warwickshire, and in other parts of the kingdom, but was shot in 1643, when about to besiege a party of royalists who had taken possession of Lichfield cathedral. Charles named him, in one of his proclamations, as a person whom he had determined to prosecute for treason.

Of Lord Wharton it may suffice to say, that he was a person of unblemished reputation, that he always acted with Brooke, and appears to have shared in his sentiments in all respects. In the second year of the war, not more than twenty peers were in the habit of attending the upper house. Of this number seven have been named, and of the remaining thirteen history has nothing very material to report: they were, the Earls of Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, and Bolingbroke; and the Lords Dacres, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Eserick, Rochford, and Roberts.

It is to the lower house that we must look for the men who were most aware of the extent and bearing of the principles involved in this contest, and who were alone capable of prosecuting their objects with vigour in the hour of disaster, and amidst the infirmities and changes of popular feeling. Something of the humane regard which served, in many cases, to sober the ardent attachment to the public interests which distinguished many members of the commons, we may perceive in a letter addressed to Sir Ralph Hopton, by his old friend Sir William Waller,—an able parliamentary general, whose successes at the commencement of the war procured him the name of William the Conqueror. Hopton solicited an interview, after the two friends had drawn the sword on opposite sides; Waller returns for answer:—"My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. I should wait on you according to your desire, but that I look on you as engaged in that party beyond the possibility of retreat, and consequently incapable of being wrought upon by any persuasion. That great God, who is searcher of all hearts, knows with what

a sad fear I go upon this service, and with what perfect hate I detest a war without an enemy; but I look upon it as *opus Domini*! We are both on the stage, and must act those parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy; but let us do it in the way of honour, and without personal animosity." And from what we know of Hopton, we may well believe that he shared fully in his friend's high sense of duty, and in the generous reluctance with which he proceeded to the performance of the service which that feeling of responsibility laid upon him.

On no character in our history have the enemies of the parliamentarians been accustomed to look with a more evil eye than upon John Hampden. His good points stand out so beautifully, and his too short career was so singularly cautious and faultless, as to render him a most unwelcome object to the eye of parties hostile to the cause which he espoused. It is, indeed, a rare thing to meet with a patriotism so bold and determined, in alliance with so much reflection, self-possession, and urbanity. The several parts of his character might be found in different men in many countries; but where to look for them all combined in such admirable proportions we hardly know. Mr. D'Israeli's labours have tended rather to augment than diminish the fame of this extraordinary person; particularly by exhibiting his religion as a system embracing the most lofty theism, chastened and regulated by the discoveries peculiar to Christianity, and expressed on ordinary occasions in a language which the most refined taste must approve,—in the place of consisting, according to the mild and candid representation of Hume, of a "mysterious jargon, and vulgar hypocrisy." Warburton has justly observed, that Clarendon's account of Hampden shews, in every line, that the historian believed him to be a man of virtue and honour, but acting upon wrong

principles, — that is, upon principles which led him to assert the rights of the parliament, and to limit the power of the crown, so far as appeared to him necessary in order to protect the liberties of the community against future injury from that quarter. But there is nothing in the solemn reasoning of the historian, nor in the bold dogmatism of his commentator, tending to shew that the principles of the patriot were at all more vulnerable than his conduct. Clarendon describes Hampden as the most popular man in parliament, at a time when he is obliged himself to acknowledge, that the commons manifested “a most excellent spirit.” But when the crisis arrived in which the historian and the patriot chose different sides; the wisdom of the latter is described as “cunning,” as “deep design,” and as “craft;” his self-government and courtesy become a “mask;” his opposition to the court, the effect of a determination to reign over it, and, in fact, the consequence of not being admitted with others to a place of trust there; while his ability in council; his address as a speaker; his skill in governing individuals and parties; and his rare admixture of forethought and activity, are all viewed as so many attributes empowering him to do “mischief.” When the historian was employed in furnishing this elaborate and artful account of the mind of Hampden, he was far, we may suppose, from seeing the kind of curiosity that would be presented to the men of future times by the working of his own. It is plain from all that he has said about Hampden, that he had no real fault to lay to his charge; and that in the total absence of facts to his mind, he restricted himself to the kind of insinuations that may be conveyed by single terms, or by that artful mode of expression which leads the unsuspecting to conclusions which it would not be expedient directly to assert. Much of this disingenuous course of proceeding we may put down to prejudice; but more, to a

feeling of mortification, on seeing so much worth on the side of an enemy. Falkland, more calm, and less likely to be misled by ill-regulated feeling than Clarendon, always judged more correctly of the character of Hampden.

Among the leading men of that age who did a willing homage to the almost faultless combination of intellectual and moral qualities in the character of Hampden, particular mention should be made of Pym—a statesman whose influence in the commons and the capital was so great, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, as to have procured him, among his enemies, the sarcastic appellation of King Pym. Pym was a native of Bedfordshire, and educated in Pembroke College, Oxford. Under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford, he obtained a place in the exchequer, and a seat in the parliaments of 1614 and 1620. In the year 1614, he was committed to the Tower, with Coke and Selden, as the punishment of advocating the “rights and franchise” of the commons with a zeal which made him obnoxious to the crown. In our parliamentary history during the next thirty years, his name is of constant occurrence, and his course as a public man exhibits no shadow of change, except that of a growing attachment to the principles of his early days. In the short parliament of 1640, and in the long parliament soon afterwards assembled, he made his appearance with the reputation of possessing admirable talents for business, and a better acquaintance than any other man with all the forms of parliamentary proceedings. His physical, as well as his mental energies, were known to be extraordinary; and together with his unsullied integrity, his searching and comprehensive views of public questions, his leonine courage, his firmness of purpose, and his natural, earnest, and often most commanding eloquence, tended to place him, in 1640, in the distinguished position which he ceased not to fill from that time in the view of three kingdoms. He not only

led the prosecution against Strafford, to which scarcely any of his contemporaries would have been competent, but did more than any other person to urge his party onward, unawed by the opposition of the court, or by the popular agitations of that crisis. Two years, however, of such labour as devolved on Pym subsequent to the death of Strafford—often leaving him not more than two hours out of the twenty-four for repose—proved sufficient to break down even his capability of exertion.

The beautiful Lady Carlisle, sister to the Earl of Northumberland, was the most conspicuous person in a numerous class of females who meddled considerably in that age with political intrigue. To gratify her passion for such meddling, this lady had cultivated the friendship of Strafford, and she afterwards, for the same object, sought the acquaintance of Pym. That her intimacy with either of these great men was formed with any impure intention, will not be supposed by those who are acquainted with the little we know concerning the history of that singular woman. Scandal, however, of this sort, was insinuated at the time; but that it was not credited by Baxter, is manifest from the confidence with which that strict divine has spoken of the religious character of this patriot, assigning him a place with Lord Brooke, in the better commonwealth of the skies. Pym expired giving expression to sentiments which breathed the spirit of a sober Christianity, and an enlightened patriotism.

Sir Harry Vane, who acted with so much effect during the twenty years which preceded the Restoration, was son of the privy counsellor of the same name. Having graduated at Oxford as a student of Magdalen College, he visited France, spent some time at Geneva, and returned to England much dissatisfied both with the worship and the polity of the English church. The posture of affairs at that

junction afforded him little opportunity for diffusing his principles with any prospect of success; and he found no man more opposed to his uncourtly novelties than his father. But his nature was of that bold and ardent complexion, which generally creates occasions for action in one direction, if shut out from them in another. Under this impulse, Vane transported himself to New England; and he so far commended himself to the exiled puritans and non-conformists of whom that colony was composed, as to be elected governor the year after his landing.

There is reason to believe that his views at that time concerning the province of the magistrate in matters of religion, were in substance those which he defended with so much ability at a later period; and on that point the pious settlers of New England had still most of them something to learn. The majority were not prepared to adopt his more perfect theory of liberty of conscience, though many embraced it with great earnestness as the one thing requisite to the harmony and prosperity of their infant state. Vane, dissatisfied apparently with the measure of his success in the New World, soon returned to England, where he married a lady of good family, listened to the lectures of his father on the importance of avoiding all singularity of opinion or conduct, and, through his influence, was appointed treasurer of the navy. His subsequent friendship with Pym, and adherence to the popular party, are attributed by Clarendon to the "disobligation" put upon his father, who coveted the title of Baron of Raby, which he was doomed to see conferred on Strafford. The historian, however, has said enough about the early life of Vane to place us in possession of a more adequate explanation of his conduct. The man who found his views on the subject of religious liberty but imperfectly realized in Geneva or New England, and who was withal of a character not to be

deterred from avowing his opinions by little calculations of loss or danger, was not a person to be long in deciding on the choice which it became him to make when the struggle had really commenced between the parliament on one side, and the crown and the hierarchy on the other. That he was "a man of great natural parts, of quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression;" and altogether an extraordinary person, is admitted by Clarendon. The same writer further describes him as distinguished by "very profound dissimulation." We have no knowledge, however, of anything of this description as proved against him, in reality so censurable as are some things of the same kind which Clarendon has proved against himself. In fact, the self-complacency of this statesman, appears to have led him to the conclusion, that having once imputed duplicity to his opponents, the free practice of that vice on his own part, became venial, and even praiseworthy. There is room to suspect, that this charge of concealment and cunning, so often preferred in the "History of the Rebellion" against the most virtuous men of those times, owes its origin, in a great degree, to the distrust which the patriots were soon obliged to entertain with regard to the political integrity of the author of that work. According to his own confession, he could keep up the appearance of a coadjutor, for the sake of acting with more effect as an enemy, by taking upon him the office of a spy; and the double-dealer is not a man to be pleased with being outwitted. We do not mean to insinuate that Vane was a person of such nice moral sentiment as to be incapable of opposing craft to craft. The manner in which he conducted the treaty with the Scots might, perhaps, be appealed to as shewing the contrary. All we mean to affirm is, that he was not more a dis-

sembler than almost any man of the same general capacity, and in the same circumstances, would have been, and that Clarendon is by no means the individual entitled to cast a stone at him on that account. On the whole, he was a man of much political virtue; an independent, from his hatred of all ecclesiastical intolerance; a republican, from the force of untoward circumstances more than from abstract preference; and a visionary in theology, from having learnt to view religion as an object commending itself to the feelings and imagination more than to the understanding—the latter faculty, applied with so much force, in his case, to questions of policy, being rarely extended beyond that circle. As a religious reformer, his first position was that of an opponent of the bishops; his next, as an antagonist of the presbyterians, so soon as that party betrayed a disposition to act upon the persecuting policy of their predecessors. In regard to the state, his first object was the reformation of abuses; but as the anger of parties became more intense, he joined in the demand for new securities in the shape of inroads on the old landmarks of the constitution, and, in the end, avowed himself the advocate of a republic, as being the only available government which could hold forth to the people the promise of an equal liberty. He would have been a party to the deposition of the king, but was opposed to his execution. When, however, the commonwealth was established, it was pre-eminently the influence of his genius, industry, and generous example, that made it so formidable at home and abroad, and to the enmity which he thus incurred we must attribute his judicial murder at the Restoration.

Oliver Saint-John was one of the many persons who, while Charles governed without a parliament, were accustomed to hold private conferences on the state of affairs in

the hope of bringing back the constitution from its abeyance. Some political papers which passed between him and his friends exposed him at that time to trouble in the star-chamber. Soon afterwards he distinguished himself as counsel for Hampden, in the case of ship-money. Subsequently he was called into frequent practice on similar questions, which made him increasingly obnoxious to the court, and tended to strengthen his feeling of hostility against it. He was much confided in by the Earl of Bedford, and by nearly the whole of the liberal party; but was a man of extreme views from the beginning, gloomy in his aspect, and reserved and unamiable in his manners. His language when engaged in the prosecution of Strafford, bespoke him a person who would not scruple to put violence in the place of law, whenever the objects of his party might be served by such a course of proceeding. He continued to influence the current of affairs, in some degree, until the ascendancy of Cromwell, always manifesting the same harsh, uncompromising temper. St.-John excelled as a popular advocate. He had no pretension to the general erudition of Selden, or to the ecclesiastical learning of Prynne. The judicial and scholar-like impartiality of the former was not at all to his taste; and the impassioned temperament of the latter, particularly when occupied with questions purely religious, was hardly more acceptable to him. Both these lawyers, however, were capable of producing strong impressions on the party with which they acted, though they rarely acted together. Prynne, as a leader of the presbyterians, imbibed their spirit of intolerance to its fullest extent. Selden was placed at the head of the Erastians, who would have destroyed priestly power of every sort by vesting all authority, both ecclesiastical and civil, in the hands of the magistrate. Prynne, indeed, was indebted to his suffer-

ings under the tyranny of Laud, and to the dogged hardihood with which they were endured, for much of the respect which he enjoyed. Selden, who was known to be deficient in courage of that description, based his pretensions on his wider compass of knowledge, on his more comprehensive views, and on a tone of moderation which Prynne could never be induced to regard as a virtue. In short, the characters of these men, though, for another reason, they are here mentioned together, have more in contrast than in common.

Such, then, were the mixed elements observable in the leaders of the two great parties who divided the stage of public affairs between them at the commencement of the civil war; and the same remarkable admixture of strength and weakness, of good and evil, everywhere presented itself among their respective adherents. On the stage thus occupied, Cromwell was now to perform a conspicuous part; and the remaining space of this Introduction is designed to aid the reader in forming an impartial estimate of his character, as exhibited in the successive steps of his advancement, and in the complexion of his domestic government and foreign policy when he had attained to the supremacy which awaited him.

At the commencement of the war Cromwell raised a troop of cavalry, consisting exclusively of freeholders, or of the sons of such persons—parties who understood the grounds of the dispute in which they engaged as it respected the constitution, and who, as religious men, were prepared to contend for liberty of conscience, as for an object of greater value than any amount of civil freedom.* Their leader secured their obedience by meriting their

* Whitelocke, p. 72.

confidence and attachment, and soon rose before them to the rank of lieutenant-general. The battle of Marston Moor totally destroyed the power of the royalists over the north of England, but not until nearly two years had been spent in hostilities without any real prospect of success on either side. The courage and address displayed by Cromwell on that decisive day, secured him the highest praise. But the Scotch presbyterians, who now acted with the English parliamentarians, began to look on his patronage of religious sects, particularly the independents, with much suspicion and displeasure; and the English presbyterians manifested too much of the same feeling. That this new heresy, called "liberty of conscience," might be checked, and that the conduct of a man supposed to be no friend to the Scottish army might be under due inspection, the commissioners from the north contrived to place one of their trusty countrymen near the person of Cromwell, in the capacity of major-general. The rivalry and dissension between Cromwell and this major-general, whose name was Crawford, had been manifested, and had been shared considerably by their partisans in the army before the battle of Marston Moor. It was said, and with some truth, that the Scots under Crawford on that day had been more easily routed than brave men ought to have been; and the independents not only ventured to remind their brethren of the covenant of that fact, but attributed the victory, which nevertheless followed, to those qualities in their leader, which some other leaders, as they insinuated, would have done well to emulate. Cromwell and Crawford became accusers of each other before a committee of war, and discord arose between their respective supporters which tended to expose the great object they were alike pledged to promote to imminent hazard.

Cromwell complained that the manner in which the war had been hitherto conducted, baffled all calculation with regard either to the time of its continuance or the state of things in which it would terminate. Advantages, instead of being improved, had been allowed to pass away as though something short of necessity would suffice to bring the monarch to the terms insisted on by the parliament. Cromwell's ardent nature was irritated by this mistaken policy. There were, in consequence, two points about which he became especially concerned—the pressing of the war to an issue by more vigorous measures; and the destruction of every form of ecclesiastical intolerance. The first was not to be expected from the dilatory temper of the present commanders; and to the second, the presbyterians, particularly in Scotland, were the great impediment. This scheme of course involved an abandonment of the league and covenant, though adopted by the supreme authority of both nations. That Cromwell meditated anything beyond these objects at this time, is not proved, nor is it probable.*

The more violent presbyterians hoped to effect the expulsion of this “darling of the sectaries,” as they learnt to call him, from the army, by preferring a number of vague charges against him in the house of commons. But the house contrived to avoid becoming a party in the dispute; and Baillie, the Scotch commissioner, informs us, that the independents had so managed their affairs, that in the army under Cromwell and Manchester, and, according to report, in that under Waller, they were, both among officers and men, as two to one, “and those of the far most

* Rushworth, V. 76—79; VI. 1—4. Baillie's Letters, II. 1—79. Whitelocke, 111, 112.

resolute and confident men for the parliament party.”* It was the position which Cromwell occupied by this means, together with his bolder and more commanding talents, his greater popularity in the army, and some indiscretions perhaps both of speech and behaviour, which exposed him to a degree of jealousy and suspicion even on the part of such men as Essex and Manchester. Attacked in the commons, Cromwell retaliated upon his enemies by recommending from his place in that house the bill which has since been well known under the name of the Self-denying Ordinance. This ordinance, the necessity of which was strenuously supported by Vane, required that no member of either house of parliament should hold any military office beyond a certain day. The effect of this measure would be to remove Essex and Manchester from their place as commanders, and with them Cromwell himself. But the proposal was resisted by the upper house, on the reasonable ground that it excluded the whole peerage from the offices to which it referred, while all commoners, not members of parliament, remained eligible to them. Hence, in the shape in which it passed, it had a *retrospective* bearing only, leaving every man whom it might remove from office, eligible to re-election, at the pleasure of the proper authorities. It was a change for the moment, but constituted no law for the future.†

While this ordinance was a matter of debate in the upper house, a committee of the two kingdoms proceeded with the re-modelling of the army, according to a plan on which they had been for some time deliberating. Having concluded their labours, they received various commissions from the hands of most of the members belonging to either house

who held them,—but among them that of Cromwell was not found. This circumstance has a suspicious appearance, and has been alleged by many writers as an instance of that deep-laid policy with which Cromwell applied himself to remove impediments from the path of his ambition. But the occurrences which led to the exception in this case, have not been looked to with sufficient attention and fairness. They were certainly such as Cromwell could not have foreseen; and it may be doubted whether they were such as he ought to have resisted. The self-denying ordinance passed the upper house on the third of April, and it was to take effect at the end of forty days from that date. When that interval drew near its close, Cromwell, who had been occupied in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, joined the parliament army under Fairfax, then quartered near Windsor. On the following day, Fairfax, as commander-in-chief, received a command from the committee of both kingdoms, requiring him to send Cromwell into Oxfordshire, to prevent a junction between the king's army and a body of cavalry under the command of Prince Rupert. Cromwell discovered the enemy, consisting of four regiments, near Islep bridge in that county, and putting them to flight, he slew many, possessed himself of the queen's standard, and returned with about two hundred prisoners. He was then sent to protect the associated counties in the north-east division of the kingdom, the royalists having assembled in considerable force in those parts, while the Scots, dissatisfied with some recent proceedings, refused to advance southward. The first order of the committee to the army under Fairfax was, that it should march into the west; but the lord general was soon called from Taunton to watch the motions of the grand army under the king, which moved in the direction of the midland counties. In prospect of an

engagement which would probably decide this great controversy, Fairfax was anxious that his cavalry should be placed under the command of Cromwell. He wrote to the parliament to that effect, and Cromwell was immediately required, by a vote of the two houses, to join the grand army near Northampton. He did so on the thirteenth of June, and on the following day the battle of Naseby was fought. The victory of that day, which decided the war in favour of the parliament, was mainly attributed to his prowess and capacity; and in acknowledgment for his services, a suspension of the ordinance took place from time to time in his favour, as was the case with some others.* These are the facts of the case, and this is all we know concerning it. Cromwell might have conformed to the letter of the ordinance by laying down his commission one day, and resuming it, at the request of the proper authorities, the next;—would that course have been preferable to the one he pursued? Or was it really imperative upon him to resolve that no state of things should ever induce him to unsheath his sword again on the side of the parliament?

The battle of Naseby was fought in the summer of 1645, and Charles surrendered himself to the Scots in the following spring. From that time the supreme authority openly acknowledged by the people of England, was no

* Rushworth, VI. 16, 23—25, 27, 30, 34, 37, 39. Whitelocke, 140, 144, 146. Mrs. Hutchinson speaks in strong terms of the necessity for making the changes that were brought about by the new modelling of the army, and by the self-denying ordinance, and mentions the exception in favour of Cromwell, but without the slightest indication of suspicion concerning his integrity in that proceeding. *Memoirs*, I. 347, 348. See also Whitelocke, 123. It was natural that the royalists should regret the exception in Cromwell's favour, and that they should impute it to intrigue; but it is not so excusable in our historians to have adopted such a representation in the absence of any satisfactory evidence in support of it.

longer divided, according to local feeling and circumstances, between the king and the parliament. The two houses exercised the functions of an independent commonwealth. But these powers were too recent in their origin, and the parties who wielded them were too little agreed among themselves, to allow of their working without hindrance or disorder. The puritan spirit, with its ardent love of liberty up to a certain point, and its lamentable intolerance with respect to everything beyond it, still animated the presbyterian body of both kingdoms; while the independents, as they gradually rose into importance, by the sagacity which they brought to the management of public affairs, hardly less than by their exploits in the field, became more fixed and definite in their demands on the side of the rights of conscience, and of a more equal liberty. On the surrender of the king to the parliament, and the departure of the Scotch army, the English presbyterians, strong as they were in the capital, were a bare majority in the commons, and were without any military force in which they could confide. It became their policy, accordingly, to disband the army of independents which the war had called up, with as much speed as possible. The crisis between the independents and the presbyterians now arrived. The former complained that every practicable slight had been cast by the presbyterian majority at Westminster upon their leaders; and that the spirit betrayed by that assembly, in connexion with its measures for the disbanding of the army, was such as could leave no man of discernment in doubt as to its ultimate object, and they were not prepared to submit to a system of ecclesiastical intolerance under the name of presbyterianism, to the full as hateful as that which they had resisted under the name of prelacy. That such was in effect the object of the presbyterians is abundantly plain;

and the result was, the subjection of the capital and the parliament, after some fruitless negotiation, to the power of the army.

During great part of the time occupied in those negotiations, in which both the injustice and impolicy of the presbyterians were sufficiently discovered, Cromwell continued to attend in the house of commons, and, as it was not possible to outvote his opponents, watched his opportunities to counteract them by his policy. But his object was not so pursued as to preclude suspicion, and he escaped being committed to the Tower on the third of June, 1647, by leaving London early in the morning of that day. That he imposed on the commons by those shallow appearances which some writers describe him as assuming for that purpose, is highly improbable from the fact that no such conduct is imputed to him by Ludlow, who attended the house at that time, and who does not seem to have omitted anything that he had ever seen or heard to Cromwell's disadvantage. Mrs. Hutchinson, who must be understood as speaking the sentiments of her husband, and of the large portion of the army with which he was in constant intercourse, declares that to the time of the negotiations between the army and the king, which was some while after the army came to London, Cromwell continued "uncorruptibly faithful to his trust, and to the people's interest."* Concerning that negotiation the same writer adds, that Ireton, the son-in-law of Cromwell, "who was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it and found the contrary) but that the king might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people, after he could

* Memoirs, II. 111.

no longer uphold his own violent will ; but upon some discourses with him, the king uttered these words to him— ‘I shall play my game as well as I can ;’ Ireton replied, ‘ If your majesty have *game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.’ Colonel Hutchinson privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had with the king, Ireton’s expressions were these : ‘ He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people’s good, but to prevail by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost by fight.’ ”

These conferences took place while the king was at Hampton Court, where, according to the same authority, he “ lived rather in the condition of a guarded and attended prince, than as a conquered and purchased captive. All his old servants had free recourse to him ; all sorts of people were admitted to come to kiss his hands, and do him obeisance as a sovereign. Ashburnham and Berkeley, by the parliament voted delinquents, came to him from beyond the seas, and others by permission of the army, who had hoped they might be useful to incline him to wholesome councils. But he, on the other side, interpreting this freedom wherein he was permitted to live, not to the gentleness and reconcilableness of his parliament, who, after all his injuries, yet desired his restitution, so far as it might be without the ruin of the good people of the land, but rather believing it to proceed from their apprehension of their own declining, and his re-advancing in the hearts of the people, made use of this advantage to corrupt many of their officers—and the Scotch lords and commissioners having free access to him, he drew that nation into the design of the second war, which furiously broke out the next summer, and was

one of the highest provocations, which, after the second victory, brought him to the scaffold.”*

This unhappy state of mind on the part of the monarch, was discovered, not only in his detected intrigues with Scotland and Ireland, and in the formidable invasion and insurrection that followed, but in his rejection of the successive overtures which were made to him by the parliament and the army. So great were the jealousy and resentment called forth by this means among the soldiery, that, at length, all idea of a secure peace, founded upon the king's restoration, on any terms, was completely abandoned in that quarter. The officers who had shewn themselves most concerned to replace him on the throne, became objects of great suspicion and disaffection; and Cromwell, in particular, found himself shut up to the alternative of either moving on with the wave, which no man had power to resist, and so of becoming a party to the death of the king, or else of relinquishing all connexion with the army,—which would have been to leave his own fate, and the great interests for which the war had been waged, in the hands of men, from whose uncontrolled ascendancy his own better discernment could augur nothing but confusion, weakness, and the return of the old royalists to power. He could not be ignorant, that while the army, and the fragment of a parliament which remained, included many able and honest men, there was no one mind among them capable of checking and balancing the elements of rival parties, so as to hold out any sober promise of harmony and stability. The course of events proved that the only man at all equal to the difficulties of such a position was himself; and this

* Memoirs, II. 112.

fact, so palpable to us, could not have been altogether beyond the reach of his own sagacity.

Even in such a case, if we suppose him to have been persuaded that the punishment of death was a much heavier penalty than the king had justly incurred, a mind of faultless virtue would have refused to become a party to the inflicting of such a punishment. But where is the man whose moral aptitudes have never listened to those subtle processes of thought which relate to what is called a choice of evils, and who has not, as the consequence, allowed decisions appearing to be those of a strict rectitude, to be softened by the influence of considerations regarded as carrying with them the weight of a great moral expediency? Where is the bosom whose arcana of motives will admit of a sifting of this sort, even when the matters which occur to test them are things far below a man's liberty or life, a nation's freedom and happiness? But we have still to learn, that the reasoning concerning the absolute justice of the proceedings against the king, which satisfied such men as Ludlow and Hutchinson, were not in the end satisfactory to Cromwell. We only know that for some time, as the effect of his larger views on the subject, he betrayed more hesitation in relation to it than many of his colleagues.

But the bold democratic temper manifested by a large portion of the army was not content with the death of the king. During the next four months, it required the most decisive measures on the part of the parliament, and all the promptitude and vigour that Fairfax and Cromwell could bring to the enterprise, to suppress the mutinous detachments which presented themselves in different parts of the country. At the same time, Ireland, if anything better than the name of a government was to be preserved there,

demanded immediate attention; and all the remaining strength that could be brought to the conflict would probably be required to meet the effort about to be made by the Scots in favour of the surviving Charles Stuart, whom they proclaimed king as soon as the news of his father's death had reached them.

Cromwell accepted the conduct of the war in Ireland, with the office of lord lieutenant. Dublin and Derry were at that time the only places which held out for the parliament. Cromwell had always shared in that hatred of the catholic religion, which, in consequence of the cruelties too common in its history, had become the most prevalent and powerful feeling of his country. Of late, also, that feeling had been much strengthened by the accredited reports of the Irish massacre, and by similar deeds perpetrated still more recently. The new lord lieutenant could place no confidence in the catholics of that country; and very little in the protestants, who were mostly episcopalians or presbyterians; and in the hope of bringing the war to a speedy termination, and, as he flattered himself, of preventing the greater bloodshed which would be inevitable in case of its being protracted, he resolved to proceed in such a manner as at once to send the terror of his name from one extremity of the island to the other. Drogheda and Wexford were taken by storm, and nearly the whole of their garrisons, amounting to more than five thousand men, were put to the sword amidst the cries of no quarter.* The effect of this terrible method of proceeding was such as had been expected from it. In a few months, the island was so far subdued, that Cromwell returned to England, leaving the

* It is sometimes said that the slaughter extended to the unarmed, even to women and children, but the silence of the most competent authorities on that point is evidence to the contrary.

remains of opposition to be watched and quelled by Ireton. He endeavoured to persuade himself that he had acted wisely, and, upon the whole, humanely in this enterprise. He does not appear to have seen, that though terror may bring speedy subjection, and lessen the immediate amount of suffering, the submission produced by such means is not often lasting. It is to compress the flame, not to extinguish it.

The secret of the cruelty, and of the rapidity, which marked the progress of Cromwell's arms in Ireland, was the necessity of placing England, as soon as possible, in a condition to meet the threatened hostilities from Scotland. Those hostilities ended in the battle of Worcester; and the great point in Cromwell's history from that day to the time when he became possessed of the supreme power, is in his conduct towards the parliament.

Mrs. Hutchinson informs us, that at this period "almost every man was fancying a form of government, and angry when his invention took not place." No man did more to foster this democratic temper at one time, and to check it at another, than Cromwell. On more than one occasion he saw in it the only means by which certain great public objects were to be secured; but he became sensible after awhile, that the excess to which it had been indulged would soon expose all the weighty results, about which there had been so much contention, to the greatest danger. It is manifest also, that in stimulating this feeling at one time, and restraining it at another, he both spoke and acted, in some instances, in a manner not strictly consistent with his real preferences. His object on such occasions was to adapt himself to the nature of the elements around him, and to mould them so as to accomplish the purposes which he had in view, and which, in his judgment, and commonly

in fact, were most likely to conduce to the public good. That he was ever in heart the advocate of a republican form of government as proper to be established in this country, may well be doubted. At the crisis when it had become necessary that the army should be new modelled, and when, in connexion with that proceeding, the self-denying ordinance came into agitation, Cromwell was charged with having indulged in reflections on the folly of hereditary greatness, which were adduced as proofs of his hostility to that mixed form of government which all parties were then agreed in supporting. But a little attention to the temper of the persons who preferred that charge, and to the then state of parties, must suffice to make it appear highly probable that he was no more a republican at that time than was expedient in order to the accomplishment of the great popular change with respect to the command of the army which he then had in view. The persons exercising that command had been vested with it principally on account of their rank, and were regarded as manifesting a tenderness towards royalty, as the natural consequence of their nearer relation to it, which had placed the popular cause in imminent peril, and which afforded little promise of a speedy or satisfactory termination of the war. We learn from the best authorities, and such as are not at all favourable to the memory of Cromwell, that the change thus introduced was regarded in a large circle as strictly necessary; and it was of a nature not to have been accomplished without giving a new force to the more democratic portion both of the army and the parliament. Cromwell laboured, accordingly, to that end, but not more heartily than such men as Fairfax, Hutchinson, and Vane.

The next crisis in which Cromwell's avowal of sentiments of this nature became observable, was when the dispute

began between the parliament and the army under Fairfax. On the former occasion he employed the popular sentiment in the army and elsewhere, that the cause of the parliament might be no longer endangered from being committed to the hands of incompetent or half-hearted men; and on the latter he availed himself of the same feeling, to prevent such a settlement, on the part of the two houses, as would have taken from his followers that religious liberty for which they had so successfully contended, and which would probably, at no distant day, have exposed himself and others to the vengeance of their enemies. In reading the history of those times it should ever be borne in mind, that the army of the parliament consisted, for the most part, of free men, who had taken up arms for the sake of the great moral interests believed to be at hazard, and bore, in consequence, little resemblance to the mercenary troops usually at the command of princes. It was the grand error of the parliament, at the time adverted to, that it resolved, though by a bare majority, that these men should be treated as persons who had ceased to be citizens, by becoming soldiers. Assuredly such a course of proceeding may well be described as ungrateful and unjust. Those who were parties to it had their reward.

Concerning both the objects which thus occupied the mind of Cromwell at the two periods of his history mentioned, it may be truly said, that they were not more calculated to gratify any feeling of individual ambition in his own case, than to secure the triumph of the public cause in which he was engaged. It may also be safely concluded, that the tone of republicanism which he had assumed for the sake of them, was not such, in his view, as to preclude his future adherence to royalty, under certain limits, or he would never have ventured to employ himself with so much undisguised earnestness as he did at a later period to bring

about an agreement with the king. It should be remembered, also, that in those negotiations Cromwell was too much of a republican to please the sovereign, and too much of a royalist to please the army.

In short, his opinion through life on such matters appears to have been, that all theories of government have their value, not from their abstract excellence, which is always more imaginary than real, but from their adaptation to the character of the community that may be supposed to adopt them. Hence, instead of concluding with the small band of republicans at Westminster, that a form of polity was at all likely to be permanent in England—which certainly did not obtain the suffrage of more than one-fifth of its people—he appears to have become anxious, that so soon as such a project should be deemed practicable, some new adjustment should take place, which might possess a better prospect of stability, from being more in accordance with the prevailing sentiment. It is not affirmed here that Cromwell did not know how to dissemble, nor that his mind was never tainted by an undue regard to selfish interests. It is only maintained that much of his conduct, vulgarly placed to the account of hypocrisy and ambition, may have been designed, while tending to promote his own aggrandizement, to carry into effect those larger and more humane views of social policy, by which he was certainly distinguished from all the men of his time.

In the autumn of 1648, Cromwell pressed on the attention of the parliament the importance of their fixing on a time when their powers should cease, and of employing themselves, in the meanwhile, in devising some well-considered plan of representation for the future. In the spring of the following year a committee was appointed to take that subject into consideration. But the battle of Worcester,

nearly two years and a-half later, was achieved, before anything was done on this question, either by the committee or the parliament, except so far as to determine, that future parliaments should consist of four hundred members, and that the existing members should be returned in the next parliament for the places which they then represented. In December 1651, it was decided, by a small majority, that the present parliament should cease on the third of November, 1654. Cromwell with difficulty brought the house to this decision; and his conduct in so doing was regarded as betraying distrust—a feeling which the parliamentary leaders discovered in their turn, by effecting some large reductions in the army. In the summer of 1652, Cromwell interposed to prevent these retrenchments from extending further than might comport with his plans; and the house consented, for the present, to stay its hand.* By these steps, the controversy between Cromwell and the parliament was brought to its crisis; and the nature of that disagreement cannot be understood without a careful attention to the exact social position of both parties at this moment.

The house, then, of five hundred members, assembled as the commons of England in 1640, had been greatly diminished by deaths, and by the withdrawment of the royalists, when, a few weeks only before the trial of the king, it was reduced, by the coercion of the military, to little more than fifty members. No one pretended that the selection of persons then made by the officers, or the additions afterwards made to them by the same power, was an assembly that could properly be called a parlia-

* Journals Nov. 4, 14—27; Feb. 24; Oct. 2, 7; Dec. 19, 1651: June 5, 15; August 12, 13, 1652. Whitelocke, 524.

ment. It was an authority existing, not as a representation of the people of England, but purely as the creature of the army. In many of the departments of government its leaders had acquitted themselves with a high degree of sagacity, assiduity, and courage. But the tenacity with which they clung to the power that had been committed to them, though proceeding, probably, from motives in which there was as much to praise as blame, exposed them to suspicion, and gave an extrinsic force to the complaints that were directed against the weak points of their conduct.

Cromwell, at the same time, and particularly since the battle of Worcester, was addressed from all quarters in language which proclaimed him a king in everything except the name; and his persuasion, that a mixed constitution, with a monarchical power, would be the most acceptable and salutary form of government for the people of England, was not, we may suppose, less welcome, from its being thus connected with circumstances which seemed to point to himself as the only person in whom the supreme authority could, in such a case, be vested with any appearance of propriety or safety.

But when he adopted means to ascertain the judgment of the more considerable persons about him on that point, the result did not prove altogether gratifying. It was the advice of Whitelocke, a celebrated lawyer, after a confidential and extended conversation on the subject, that the old constitution should be restored, with certain restrictions, and with Charles Stuart as king, his excellency retaining the second place of power in the kingdom. But on this proposal it was natural to remark, that Charles Stuart could not be expected to forgive the man who had been a party to the death of his father. Other conferences took place, in which the military men generally expressed them-

selves as wedded to a republic; the civilians, as more favourable to the restoration of a peerage, and of power in a single person—but always naming one of the branches of the late king's family as the person to be called to that power. Cromwell contented himself with saying, that a settlement with something of a monarchical principle in it would be much the most effectual, if it could be made to consist with a security for the liberties of the people, as Englishmen and Christians. It is doubtful what course Cromwell would ultimately have adopted towards the parliament in these difficult circumstances, had not the conduct of that body, just at this time, furnished him with much stronger reasons for proceeding to the use of violence than he had been hitherto able to adduce.

† During the interval, from the month of September, 1652, to the following April, repeated conferences took place between the leading officers and certain members of parliament, with respect to the provisions to be made, in order that a parliament might be convened consisting of persons friendly to those liberties for which so much treasure had been expended, and so much blood had been shed. But these meetings had not prevented the adoption of several clauses by a committee of the house, which the officers had strongly opposed, especially one which, under the designation of "neuters," would have admitted the presbyterians. "We were bold to tell them," said Cromwell, "that none of that judgment who had deserted this cause and interest, should have any power in parliament. We had as good deliver up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of such as have deserted us. It is one thing to love another in matters of religion, and another so far to set him in the saddle as to command his brethren." On the evening of the nineteenth of April, a further conference

took place with regard to this point, and some others, about twenty members of parliament being present. "In the end," says Cromwell, "they told us they would take time for the consideration of these things until to-morrow; that they would sleep upon them; and consult some friends; and at parting, one of the chief, and two or three more, told us they would endeavour to suspend the proceedings, about the bill for a new representative, until further conference; and upon this we had great satisfaction, and they went away late at night. The next morning, while we were considering how to order that which we were further to offer them, word was brought that the house was proceeding with all speed upon the new representative. We could not believe that such persons could act so unworthily, until a second and a third message came, and informed us that the house had brought the bill near to an issue, leaving out things which had appeared all along, and passing it upon paper without engrossing, that it might be done with the more haste."* This statement Cromwell made on a public occasion afterwards, appealing to many who were present as persons who could vouch for its accuracy. †

The object of the majority of the house on the morning of the memorable twentieth of April is sufficiently plain. They had been loth to fix even upon a distant day for a dissolution, aware of the imminent hazards that would follow, even under the most favourable circumstances; and now, in the eleventh hour, they were resolved on trying the vain expedient of an alliance with the more moderate presbyterians, as their only means of escaping from the power of the army. Could they have passed the bill framed with this view, they would have given the force of law to

* Milton Papers, 106—114. Parl. Hist. III. 1387, 1388. Heath, 339.

their plans, and have made any attempt to frustrate them by military violence much less probable. This done, they would instantly have dissolved. But the Colonels Harrison and Ingoldsby were in the house; and the former, despatching the latter with tidings to the general, took care himself to prolong the debate until Cromwell arrived, and cleared the house in the manner which all our histories relate.

In forming our judgment concerning the conduct and character of Cromwell in connexion with these apparently vulnerable points in his career, it should be remembered that history has hardly another man of whom so much has been written, and so little with a friendly hand. The royalists, the presbyterians, and the republicans, had only one passion stronger than their hatred of each other, and that was, their hatred of Cromwell. Yet nearly all we know concerning the person so regarded by them, is derived from one or other of these parties. Nor even to our own time has any writer taken up this topic, possessing the information, the impartiality, and the other requisites necessary to subject the testimony of these passionate and often unprincipled witnesses to fair scrutiny and abatement. The mind of Cromwell was not of a character to see any intrinsic value in the trappings of royalty, or in that kind of precedence which is assigned to one man before another as the result of accident rather than of personal merit; and there were occasions on which he could speak of such things as of little significance except in the view of shallow capacities. But he knew that the influence of such distinctions, and of the pageantries connected with them, on the imagination and sympathies of the English people, was so great, that without a mixed form of government, by which something of that kind might be consistently restored, the country

must long continue a scene of extended suffering and frequent convulsion. The democracy of the army, and of the remnant of a parliament which he had just dismissed, he truly regarded as no fair representation of the feeling of the country, and as needing to be controlled by other elements of power. In recalling the exiled family, he could hardly fail to see greater prospect of hazard than of advantage, both to leading men and to the nation. Nor could he well have persuaded himself, that the late parliament, or the mere presbyterian body which would soon have appeared as its successor, would be found sufficiently unprejudiced and united to bring about such a settlement as was demanded by the character of the community when viewed at large; and least of all were they likely to agree in placing himself in that position, in which he felt some one person should be placed, and to which he supposed (and who can be surprised at his indulging such a thought?) that no living man had a claim preferable to his own.

It was not the delays, therefore, nor the imperfections in the domestic policy of the "statesmen" at Westminster, though much dwelt upon by Cromwell, that constituted their great fault in his view, but the fact they were not a body of men capable of retracing their steps in this manner, and to this extent. Hence, rather than trust to them, or to the still less manageable body that would have been called together to succeed them, he seized the reins into his own hands. No sober man will doubt that he meant to guide them for the good of the community, and with a more equal and comprehensive regard to its interests than could be expected from any other quarter. Nor is there room to doubt that while thus availing himself of the power of the sword, his ultimate object was to re-establish the supremacy of the law. But the point of most weight in con-

nexion with the judgment to be formed with respect to the conduct of Cromwell at this crisis, is one that must always remain in a great degree uncertain,—viz., the extent to which his regard for the public good was alloyed by admixtures of personal ambition. It is true, supposing the end proposed by him to have been the most generous and patriotic that could have been entertained, the question still remains—was he justified in resorting to such measures even for such an object? With regard to this question, however, I will only say, that there are so many points of moment relating to it requiring consideration, that the man who betrays a disposition to dismiss it in a very summary manner, as one of small moral difficulty, needs not give any further proof of his own incompetency to decide upon it either wisely or justly.

It is the period of Cromwell's history which commences from this point that is particularly illustrated in the Correspondence submitted to the public in these volumes. During the five years of his ascendancy, Cromwell assembled three parliaments; the first in July, 1653, the second in the September of the following year, and the third in the autumn of 1656. Neither of these parliaments were convened according to the usage of the old constitution, but each made a nearer approach towards that model than the former.

The first, called "the little parliament," consisted of a selection of persons, chosen by Cromwell and the officers from a list supplied by the different religious societies through the country, particularly of the independent and baptist denominations. This novel assembly applied itself with so much boldness to the work of reformation, that the lawyers, the clergy, and the army, all began to look on its proceedings with alarm, and at length Cromwell

gratified all these parties by dissolving it. The fault of this parliament was, not in the want of capacity to discern where the evils of the social system lay, but in the want of the moderation necessary to a safe treatment of them in such unsettled times. According to Whitelocke, it included "many persons of fortune and knowledge;" and the notion that Cromwell assembled this body only that it might display its folly, and furnish him with an excuse for playing the tyrant after dismissing it, does not appear to be well founded.

On the dissolution of that assembly, Cromwell was inaugurated as Lord Protector; and arrangements were made for convening another parliament, according to a plan set forth in a document agreed upon by the council of officers, and known by the name of the "Instrument of Government." The house assembled by virtue of that paper consisted of four hundred members. It included a majority of presbyterians and republicans, who, little agreed as they were on other points, soon proved to be united in their opposition to Cromwell. During five months they deferred voting a supply, or making the slightest communication to the protector. Their principal employment was in discussing the articles of the instrument of government, which they so altered as to make it evident that their object was to reduce the office of protector to the smallest possible significance, for the purpose of dispensing with it altogether on the first convenient occasion. Wearied by these delays, and regarding these signs of disaffection as an ungenerous return for the confidence which he had exercised, Cromwell summoned the members before him on the earliest day that the letter of the instrument would allow, and descanted in a long speech upon their conduct, expressing his regret especially that so favourable an oppor-

tunity to establish a government equally removed from "the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and of democracy on the other," had not been more wisely improved. He then concluded with saying, "I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these nations for you to continue here any longer; and therefore declare that I do dissolve this parliament."

Having made it evident during a period of eighteen months that he was still powerful enough to crush conspiracy in its most formidable shapes, and to raise supplies without the assistance of parliament, the protector appears to have concluded that the time had come in which it would be safe and prudent to convene another assembly under that name. But as the elections proceeded, it became manifest that disaffection to the existing government had rather increased than diminished. Every available caution was used to secure favourable returns; but in the majority of instances without success. It was resolved, however, that a severe scrutiny should be instituted with regard to the successful candidates, and nearly a hundred—a fourth of the number elected, were declared by the protector and his council to be ineligible, on account of their political or their moral disqualifications. The excluded members published a remonstrance, in which they spoke with fearless indignation of the conduct adopted towards them. Cromwell allowed it to pass unnoticed.

The earlier proceedings of the three hundred members who remained, were highly favourable to the objects which the protector in his speech had submitted to their consideration. Provisions were made for the greater safety of the person of the chief magistrate; the war with Spain was to be prosecuted; the family of Stuart was solemnly renounced; and the sum of 400,000*l.* was voted for the use of the

government. But a question of graver import than all these also engaged the attention of that assembly,—it was no less than the restoration of monarchy in the person of the protector, and of the “other house” of parliament. Cromwell would have taken the title of king, but the council of officers opposed it with great vehemence, and, after much vacillation and delay, he delivered his final negative to the proposal. The royalists dreaded nothing so much as his coming to an opposite decision; and the band of military bashaws under the name of republicans, whom he allowed to draw him from his own better judgment, were ere long to reap as they had sown.

This settlement of that question was followed by Cromwell’s second inauguration as Lord Protector; and the instrument of government was altered so as to empower him to choose his successor. The representatives of the people were also declared to be possessors of the sole power of judging with respect to disputed elections; and the persons qualified to sit in the “other house” were restricted to those nominated by the chief magistrate, and approved by the two houses. Sixty were summoned to the upper house, and about fifty attended; but nearly the whole of these were persons whose patents were either conferred for the occasion, or of recent origin. The lower house was no sooner assembled than it seized upon the clause in the new instrument which gave it authority to judge of disputed elections, and interpreting it as having a retrospective as well as a prospective bearing, the house decided, by a formal resolution, that the hundred members who had been excluded by order of the council, should be invited to their places. The large body of persons thus introduced consisted of individuals whose original disaffection to the

government had been exasperated by their recent sense of ill-treatment.

Cromwell must have seen from the moment this use was made of the instrument, that nothing friendly could subsist between his authority and such a house of commons; but he deemed it prudent for a while to conceal his resentment, and to allow full scope to the passions of his opponents. It soon became manifest that the destruction of the new house of peers was the first object of the opposition party in the commons. Cromwell reasoned with them on this point, and spoke of the confusion and ruin which must soon come on all their petty interests if this spirit of determined partisanship were not placed under some restraint:—but he reasoned in vain. In short, a plan was set on foot to procure an abolition, not only of the upper house, but of the protectorate; and so boldly was this point canvassed by certain members of the commons and officers of the army, that a petition in its favour was known to be handed about in the metropolis to obtain signatures. Cromwell had much to fear at this moment from the royalists, and still more from the heavy arrears due to the army both in England and Ireland. But no time was to be lost. Without intimating his purpose to any man, he suddenly sent for the commons, reminded them of the hostile temper which they had manifested, and of the intrigues in which they were many of them engaged, and having pronounced the words “I do dissolve this parliament,” he added, “let God judge between me and you.”

Thus ended the last effort made by Cromwell to restore the constitution of his country. His opponents trusted that this proceeding would render him odious, and hasten his fall; nor did they spare any pains to forward the

accomplishment of their own predictions. But in all their paths of conspiracy their adversary met them, and proved himself strong enough to put down their many-headed opposition. In judging of the conduct of Cromwell as exhibited in these proceedings, it is due to him that a careful attention should be given to the character of the parties into which the country was at that time divided—the royalists, the presbyterians, and the republicans. The ascertained object of each of these parties was the establishment of their respective schemes, all of which, either essentially or from circumstances, were so many schemes of tyranny. Opposed to them all was Cromwell, with that portion of the army which confided in him; and he opposed them separately and conjointly, so as to prevent the ascendancy of any one of them. His argument was, that the majority of the adherents to the exiled Stuarts were certainly in no temper to be considerate of the liberties of the country, either civil or religious, if once possessed of the power to thrust them aside; that the presbyterians in general, were disposed to set up an ecclesiastical tyranny, not at all less inimical to real liberty of conscience than that which had been exercised by Laud and his coadjutors; and that the republicans, constituting as they did only so small a minority of the people of England, if they might possess the power or the inclination to grant some degree of religious freedom, certainly could not retain their place for a month as the ruling party, without resorting to the wretched mockery of calling the iron rule of a military oligarchy by the specious name of a commonwealth. He accordingly maintained, and with much plausibility, that the salvation of the country depended on preventing the complete success of any one of the parties mentioned, and

his difficult effort in consequence was to balance them against each other, until the time should come when an amalgamation might be safely attempted. His experiments in regard to parliaments tended more and more to facilitate a settlement founded on principles of rational compromise; but the effect of them all was to make it evident that the enmities of the several factions were not in his time sufficiently controlled by reason and humanity to render it possible that the country should be permitted to share in the prosperity and greatness which it might otherwise have derived from his larger and more equitable policy.

It is to these circumstances mainly that we must look for the source of those exercises of arbitrary power which occur in the government of England during the protectorate. When his parliaments withheld supplies, Cromwell did not scruple to extort them by the sword; and when beset with conspiracy and revolt, he ventured to place suspicious persons under arrest upon grounds that were not legally sufficient to justify such a course of proceeding. But with regard to the general complexion of his administration, even his enemies at length admit, that it was never allowed to become illegal or severe except from the pressure of necessity. "His good sense and good nature would have led him to govern equitably and mercifully, to promote literature, to cherish the arts, and to pour wine and oil into the wounds of the nation. When he shed blood, it was never for the appetite of blood; such actions were committed by him against a good nature, not in the indulgence of a depraved one. He would have governed constitutionally, mildly, mercifully, liberally, if he could have followed the impulses of his own heart, and the wishes of his better mind. Self-preservation compelled

him to a severe and suspicious system ; and because he was an usurper he became, of necessity, a despot.”*

It was this law of self-preservation, together with his strong feeling as a protestant, that gave limits to his system of religious toleration. He not only prohibited the exercise of the catholic worship, but concurred in excluding that class of professors from all places of public trust, and in depriving them of their elective franchise. Even prelacy and the liturgy were proscribed. The law, however, as it related to worship according to the Book of Common Prayer, was not strictly enforced. There were instances in which that worship was openly and regularly performed, even in the heart of the capital, without molestation. The ruler who would have asserted the religious rights of the Quaker, the Socinian, and even of the Jew, will not be supposed by impartial persons to have had any strong objection of a religious nature to the toleration of a liturgy, or of an episcopalian clergy. The political disaffection manifested by that class of persons was regarded, after much experiment, as an evil which no lenient treatment was likely to subdue, and their continual plottings to escape from the control of the existing government only served to place them in more rigorous subjection to it. The church establishment was in effect presbyterian ; but the parochial cures were not confined to ministers of that class. Cromwell was disposed to concede the utmost licence to protestant sects, so long as they were found conducting themselves peaceably towards his government.

Concerning the domestic government of Cromwell, it may, in brief, be said, that arbitrary and severe as it some-

* The above passages are from an article in the twenty-fifth volume of the “ Quarterly Review,” attributed to Dr. Southey.

times was towards those who were influenced by a fixed hostility to his power, it was, on the whole, as just and humane as would have been found practicable in circumstances retaining so little of the regularity belonging to ordinary times. It is easy to shew that Cromwell, as Protector, did not always act according to those great provisions of the constitution which the civil war had been prosecuted to secure; but there is a great want of intelligence, or of honesty, in the reasoning which represents his altered conduct, in times so altered, as so much clear proof of his apostasy from the cause of freedom.

If we glance for a moment at the character of the men with whom he acted as military leaders, it will be manifest that it was not the opposition of the catholics, the presbyterians, or the old royalists only, that served to thwart the plans of "his better mind," and to make arbitrary and suspicious courses unavoidable. It has appeared that the power of these men was sufficiently formidable to prevent their chief from taking the title of king; and it was only by deferring to that power in many other things, that his position could at all be retained. In most of the persons included in this class, there appears to have been a degree of honest purpose which must always entitle them to respect. But their views on the limited number of points which formed their main object of attention, were often in alliance, either with a stern coldness of heart, or with feelings of a religious nature which verged upon fanaticism; and, from these causes, their schemes were too frequently wanting in the modification and expansion required by the unalterable character of the great community about them, and tended, as the consequence, to perpetuate animosity rather than to restore order.

No leader of this description maintained a character less

open to exception than Colonel Hutchinson. He appears to have been a person of untainted honour, and of great humanity. His piety, while based on the general doctrine of the puritans, and imbued with their ardent feeling, was much more tolerant, and was connected in some other respects with a more independent habit of thinking. But the powers of his understanding were not so remarkable as his moral qualities. Soon after the death of the king he became dissatisfied with the conduct of Cromwell; and fascinated with the notion that the time had come in which the ancient constitution of England might be made to give place to a pure republic, he failed to employ himself in such a manner as might have favoured the return of order and tranquillity. He possessed a refinement in his natural tastes, as well as in his moral sentiments, which was rarely found among his colleagues.

The character of Ludlow included some points in common with that of Hutchinson, but in many respects was of a very different complexion. He was a man of much principle, but of little feeling; singularly clear-headed in his conceptions on a few points belonging to the great matters in debate in his time, but not capable of large views. His courage had often been tried, and never found wanting; and no man of that age exhibited more of a steady onwardness in the course he had chosen. But his want of a more disciplined and comprehensive understanding, together with his deficiencies in imagination and sensibility, disqualified him for judging with due candour of his enemies, and commonly rendered him very intolerant of the real or supposed infirmities observable in his friends. Hence he is too prone to censure, and is less to be admired for the amiableness of his temper, than for the honesty of his intentions. From this cause also it happened, that his affection towards those

who adhered to his principles, was much less apparent than the fixed resentment with which he regarded all who were opposed to them. This tendency was in fact so strong, as, sometimes, to lead him away from that strict consistency and integrity, which formed his great virtue and boast. He became unfriendly to Cromwell about the same time with Hutchinson, and for the same reasons; and from that period, so little could he master his disaffection, that he has described the battle of Naseby without the slightest mention of the man who did so much to decide the fortunes of that memorable day; and when denouncing the conduct of Cromwell in excluding a hundred members from his third parliament by the authority of his council, our indignant censor appeared to forget that he had himself furnished the example for that proceeding, when he took so decided a part in reference to a similar act as performed by Colonel Pride, at the bidding of the officers, not long before. Ludlow's one idea was "that the nation should be governed by its own consent." Cromwell replied, "I am as much for government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent? amongst the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties?" To this question his opponent had no satisfactory answer to return, and it pointed to a difficulty which overwhelmed the republican party as soon as they began to deal with it.

On no man has Ludlow bestowed so large a share of praise as upon General Ireton, the son-in-law of Cromwell. Ireton had been educated at one of the inns of court, and was regarded by the army as capable of acquitting himself with equal credit, whether opposed to an enemy, or deciding upon a question of legislation. According to his own confession, there was not a little of the cynic in his nature; and Ludlow, who tells us that the great infirmity of his

friend was an obstinate adherence to his own opinion, has recorded enough to shew that he had one greater fault—hardness of heart. It appears, also, that the temper which made him little scrupulous about shedding the blood of his enemies, often betrayed itself in a similar tone of severity towards his friends, whenever their conduct was not conformable to his own standard of expediency and justice. The parliament came to a vote which settled upon him the sum of 2,000*l.* a-year, as a reward for his services in Ireland. He wrote in reply, that “they had many just debts, which he desired they should pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure.” It is scarcely needful to say, that the man whose taste disposed him to indulge in such language on such an occasion, was a person who valued himself much on this sort of inflexibility; and so strong was this feeling in him, that even Cromwell is supposed to have regarded his opposition, in any matter of moment, with much apprehension. He died in Ireland, in the spring of 1652. Some of Cromwell’s family caused his body to be interred in Westminster Abbey, a proceeding, says Ludlow, that would have deeply offended him could he have foreseen it, so much “did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities.” Ireton was, beyond doubt, a person of good natural parts, of considerable culture, and governed in general by a strong sense of duty, according to his own proud, harsh, and often partial views on that subject.

General Lambert had also been educated with a view to the profession of the law. Judging from his conduct, particularly upon his trial after the Restoration, nature

designed him to excel in a camp, more than in the hall of legislation, or in a court of justice. He rose to be second in command under Cromwell; but was one of the most active among the officers who opposed the scheme of raising the protector to the dignity of king, principally, it is supposed, from having learnt to regard himself as the probable successor of Cromwell, so long as he continued merely protector. From that time Cromwell began to look on his able coadjutor with suspicion and coolness, though well aware that his influence in the army was hardly inferior to his own. Lambert, however, strange to say, was a concealed catholic, and could not avail himself of the religious enthusiasm of the soldiery in the manner of his rival. This became apparent enough, when he endeavoured to make the same use of Fleetwood that Cromwell had made of Fairfax.

Fleetwood married one of Cromwell's daughters, and, in common with Harrison, Desborough, Rainsborough, and many beside, united no ordinary measure of ability and courage as a soldier, and much patriotic intention in public affairs, with a weakness of judgment, and an extravagance of religious feeling, which pointed to the time when the presiding power of Cromwell should be withdrawn, as to a juncture that would be marked by the greatest confusion, and probably by great suffering. Often, too, where the fanaticism of religion did not occur to furnish this prognostication, a feeling bearing a strong resemblance to it prevailed, either in the shape of an ill-regulated attachment to the principles of popular government, or of a strong and restless enmity to the person of Cromwell. Thus it was with Overton, Haselrig, Lawson, and others.

By means of an army, including within itself so many elements of disorder and weakness, had Cromwell to main-

tain his place against the covert, and often the open attacks of royalists, presbyterians, and republicans who presented themselves in every other connexion, and were ever ready to conspire, either separately or conjointly, for his overthrow. It must be supposed, that to a large portion, both of the army and of the nation, his ascendancy was not unacceptable; but it may be said without hesitation, that a less amount of ability than was necessary to meet the exigencies of his position, would have sufficed to govern half the nations of Europe in that age. History informs us that Cromwell not only shewed himself equal to those exigencies, but that he secured to the country comparative order and tranquillity; encouraged learning, agriculture, and commerce; and so far augmented her general resources and naval power, as to confer upon England a name and influence in the affairs of Europe, which she had not attained under the sway of any sovereign in the long line of her princes. With the commencement of the civil war, the spirit and power of the country began to manifest itself as in the best days of Elizabeth. The nation of which foreigners had learnt to speak as having become one of the most pusillanimous, and the most incompetent to any critical or perilous undertaking, is suddenly found capable of affording proofs of well-trained prowess, both upon the land and the deep, to which modern history had no parallel. The only satisfactory explanation of this change would seem to be that presented in those popular views of government, and still more in those views of religion, which were then so commonly entertained by the soldier and the sailor, and which taught them to regard the contests in which they were engaged as relating immediately to their personal rights. It was the novelty and nobleness of the objects pursued, which gave this new development to the national character.

From the age of Charles V. to this time, Europe had consisted mainly of two great confederations—the house of Austria, including Spain and its dependencies, being at the head of the one; and the kingdom of France at the head of the other. The former power, and its usual allies, may be called the catholic confederation; the latter, with the states commonly in relations of amity with it, the protestant. From the commencement of the reformation to the peace of Westphalia in 1648, religion continued to be the great object of war and alliance throughout Europe; and during the whole of that interval, the scale of political power continued to turn, with little variation, on the protestant side. Spain sunk rapidly from its high state of promise at the close of the fifteenth century; and Austria was too much occupied in defending her territories bordering on the dominion of the Turks, to be capable of acting with efficiency in relation to a large portion of Europe. In the meanwhile, France was becoming daily more consolidated and powerful—passing through her great transition, from a state in which her monarchy had been enfeebled by the inordinate power of her feudal chiefs, to one in which that monarchy became itself the parent of a new class of evils as the effect of being wholly free from restraint. But in the age of Cromwell, the remembrance of the bad effects which had resulted from the former cause was so vivid as to prevent the French people from becoming apprehensive concerning those which might arise from the latter. It is a leading fact, also, in the history of modern Europe, that from the peace of Westphalia in 1648, religion, as the great object of negotiation, began everywhere to give place to questions relating to colonies and commerce. It should also, perhaps, be remarked, that the northern powers of Europe, including Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, gene-

rally acted with more independence than the states which stood in nearer local relation to the dominions of the house of Austria or of the Bourbons.

On the establishment of the English commonwealth, Spain earnestly sought its friendship, in the hope of seeing its strength directed against Holland and Portugal. The latter of these powers provoked the enmity of the new republic by the favour which it shewed to the hostile fleet under the command of Prince Rupert; but soon became sensible of its imprudence, and anxious to obtain peace on the terms prescribed by the English parliament. The United Provinces, partly from their jealousy of the commercial and naval power of England, and partly through the influence of the Prince of Orange, who had married one of the daughters of Charles I, had hesitated, during two years, to receive any ambassador from this country. By that time, the defeat of Charles II., in the battle of Worcester, placed the offended commonwealth in a condition to retaliate, first, by passing their famous navigation act, and, in the end, by a declaration of war. In this contest the advantage was on the side of the English; and the Dutch needed no one to assure them that, in future, their claim to be regarded as the great maritime power of Europe would be liable to dispute.

Cromwell inherited the national aversion to Spain. With a view to humble that power still more, he confirmed, as protector, the alliance with Portugal; favoured the overtures for peace from the Dutch; and entered into negotiations for the purpose of establishing some nearer relations between England and France. In all these transactions, the terms conceded to him by the contracting parties bespoke his high sense of the national honour, and the great value attached to his friendship. It was the

common remark in Paris, that Mazarin, the prime minister of Louis XIV., "had less fear of the devil than of Oliver Cromwell." The ensuing correspondence affords sufficient proof of the delays to which that proud court was constrained to submit for the sake of his alliance. Powers which had learnt to fear the infant commonwealth, looked upon it with increased apprehension so soon as it became probable that its energies would be directed in future by the mind of Cromwell, which, seen as it was at a distance, in the bold outline of its character, could not but promise a greater unity and vigour than ever to the development and application of our national resources. It was Cromwell who said, that he hoped the day would come, when the name of Englishman would be as sure an immunity from wrong in every part of the world, as that of Roman had been; and no Englishman ever did so much towards realizing that patriotic wish. It was this magnanimous temper that disposed the same populace which had gazed in heedlessness or exultation upon his remains as fastened on a gibbet in 1660, to lament, in less than seven years, that he could not be called from his grave to rescue their country from the contempt of the meanest of her enemies.

Some politicians, regarding the power of France on the accession of Louis XIV. as more dangerous to the liberties of Europe than the condition of the house of Austria, have censured the policy of Cromwell in choosing an alliance with his Gallic neighbours. It was, they say, a proceeding tending to make the strongest still stronger, and so to destroy rather than preserve the balance of power between the states of the continent. But there is much more involved in this question than may at first appear. Cromwell, beside his hereditary dislike to Spain, had purposed establishing important colonies in the West Indies, and hoped

to derive treasure from South America, either by making conquests in that country, or by rich captures at sea. France, on the other hand, had not then put forth those signs of strength which signalized the middle period of the reign of Louis XIV., nor could such a course of events have appeared probable to any man. But, above all, Cromwell was devoted to the interest of the protestant religion, and the fact that Spain and Austria had always been, and were likely to continue, the determined enemies of that religion, was alone enough to have decided him in the choice of his allies. He made his friendship valuable to France and to Holland, and by their means he might reasonably hope to interfere with success in favour of aggrieved protestants over the greater part of Europe.

Nor was the condition of protestantism so flourishing as to preclude the necessity of such efforts in its cause. France, though, for political reasons, it had long been the head of the great protestant confederation, was itself catholic, in the proportion of nearly twelve to one. Sweden and Denmark were protestant, but their influence on the general policy of Europe was uncertain, always depending on the accident of their being governed by princes possessing sufficient genius to confer upon them such distinction. The only permanent ground of political greatness, is in national institutions and in national character; and these, in the states mentioned, were never of a kind to be relied upon. In Germany, in the Netherlands, and in Switzerland, the two religions were variously balanced—province against province, and canton against canton; while Portugal and Italy remained wholly catholic. The letters of Pell and Morland in the present publication, shew that the interference of a strong hand was still needed, in many countries, to protect the professors of the

reformed faith from the utmost oppression and cruelty. To no quarter could sufferers of that description look with so much confidence of sympathy, and of efficient effort in their behalf, as to England; and it appears from the documents made public in these volumes that the aggrieved protestant was accustomed to direct his hopes towards the kind offices of the English commonwealth from regions so distant as the confines of Hungary and Transylvania.

No part of Cromwell's transactions with foreign powers was more acceptable to his country, or afforded more certain evidence of the awe which his name had inspired throughout Europe, than his conduct in relation to the persecuted protestants in the valleys of Piedmont. That people, known by the name of the Vaudois, were descended from the ancient Waldenses, who, long before the age of Luther, had distinguished themselves by the avowal of opinions on theology and on matters of ecclesiastical polity, in substance the same with those which have since become known under the name of protestantism. In the age of Cromwell, the Vaudois were the subjects of the Duke of Savoy, who, in 1653, confirmed them in their possessions and in their religious privileges, within the limits to which they were then extended. But in the following year, the duke began to question the right of this class of his subjects to certain portions of territory occupied by them; and that their expulsion from the districts to which this exception was taken might be accomplished with the show of legal proceeding, a decision was obtained by the duke, in his own favour, from his "master auditor," Gastaldo, doctor of civil law, and "conservator general of the holy faith." This decision, which was pronounced without any hearing of the Vaudois in their own cause, and solely upon the evidence brought against them, was published, to the great

astonishment and dismay of the people of the valleys, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1655.

The court of Savoy, in their subsequent defence, describe this proceeding as characterized by great equity and humanity. But there is enough disclosed in the facts acknowledged by those with whom it originated to shew its real temper and design. All persons willing to profess themselves catholics were to remain in the prohibited districts without molestation; but all who were not prepared to make that profession were to remove beyond the limits mentioned in three days on pain of death, exception of any kind, whether on the plea of sex, age, or infirmity, being strictly excluded. It must be remembered, moreover, that the three days mentioned were from the twenty-fifth of January, which exposed the inhabitants of the eight districts named in the decree to all the misery of homelessness amidst the severity of an Alpine winter. After proceeding in this manner, the Savoy government gravely maintained that any show of opposition to an exercise of authority so manifestly just, and so considerate, in all respects, of human infirmity, could be nothing less than a most ungrateful and wicked rebellion!

The people who were thus compelled to escape for their lives, lingered in the neighbourhood of the settlements to which this proscription did not extend. Their suffering excited the compassion of their brethren, who could hardly fail to look on the same fate as probably awaiting themselves. Meetings for conference were accordingly held, at which it was resolved that the proscribed and the exempt should join in a firm, but respectful remonstrance to their sovereign, and that the exiles in the mean time should by no means consider their homes as forfeited. But these

meetings were denounced by the government as seditious, and were seized upon as a pretext for quartering soldiers on the inhabitants of the valleys not included in the proscriptive edict. By this means the people would probably be goaded into acts of resistance, which would afford a further pretence for resorting to violence. On the approach of the military the people fled from their habitations, and the obtruders became straitened for the means of subsistence. The fugitives declared that, considering the manner in which their brethren affected by the decree of Gastaldo had been treated, they could not avoid serious apprehension with regard to the probable consequences of placing themselves in the hands of the military by receiving them to quarter among them. If their prince would allow them to remain in his dominions, they were prepared to pledge themselves to every expression of loyalty and obedience; but if, as appeared only too probable, his royal highness had determined no longer to tolerate them, they besought him, with all humility, to give them time to depart with their wives and children, and to seek some other place of abode as Providence might direct. But it soon became manifest that the object of their prince was not to scatter, but to crush them.

Some of the people who had fled from the valleys of San Giovanni and La Torre took up arms, and an encounter occurred at the latter place between a party of the Piedmontese, and the troops sent into those parts by the duke, under command of the Marquis Pianezza, his minister of state. During the next three days the marquis employed himself in laying waste those deserted valleys. His next object was to prevail, partly by pointing to these effects of disobedience, and partly by the use of fair speeches, upon the

inhabitants of Agrogna, Bobio, and other places, to receive his troops as friends. The majority of the people fell into the snare thus laid for them. A few days served to shew that their worst suspicions concerning the intentions of their enemies were well founded. The soldiery found or created causes of complaint, and scenes of carnage and iniquity ensued which are too revolting for description. Churches were given to the flames, and all who had fled to them for safety. Whole families were slaughtered together. Men, women, and children, were hunted down upon the rocks and heights like beasts of prey, and as in sport. Not a few were destroyed by the most horrible tortures that a malignant ingenuity could devise. The persons of the sufferers were often violated before they were put to the sword, and compassion was alike denied to the feebleness of age and the infant in the womb. The humane mind would be relieved in being able to discredit such relations; but this is not possible in the present case, without doing violence to the most acknowledged laws of historical testimony, and reducing the story of the past to a chaos of uncertainties.*

* Morland's volume on this subject is made up, for the most part, of official documents relating to it, published by both parties, and furnishes in itself sufficient means of forming, upon the whole, a correct judgment concerning it. But the reader desirous of the most ample information should further consult the third and fourth volumes of Thurloe's State Papers; and Leger's *Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques*. Dr. Lingard's account of this proceeding (*History of England*, XI. 261—267) is discoloured throughout with the prejudices which always attend him when touching upon any matter having the slightest connexion with the reputation of the catholic creed. The doctor is at a loss to say on which side the greatest cruelties were exercised. Mazarin felt no such difficulty, for, according to him, "the true matter of fact" was, that the Piedmontese inflicted "*a hundred times worse cruelties on the catho-*

Neighbouring protestants, particularly those of Geneva, interposed in loud reprobation of this outrage; and the check thus given to the demon of intolerance was followed by the interference of Cromwell, who received news of these barbarities a few weeks after they had been perpetrated. "The sufferings of these poor people," he said, "lay as near, or rather nearer to his heart, than if it had concerned the nearest relations he had in the world." Morland was dispatched on their behalf to the court of Turin; Pell was instructed to use his influence in their favour as resident ambassador with the protestant cantons of Switzerland; and Milton was employed to address letters to the Duke of Savoy, and to the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and France.

The Duke of Savoy was displeased and alarmed on finding the attention of protestant Europe thus pointed to his conduct. It was generally believed that his royal highness had acted in this matter principally under the influence of his mother, who was sister to the King of France. Cromwell wrote to Louis and Mazarin, stating that one condition of the treaty then in progress between him and France, must be a redress of the wrongs inflicted by the Duke of Savoy on his protestant subjects; adding, that it became the King of France the more to interfere in this business, as it was well known that some of his own troops had been employed in the pious work of putting down the heretics of the valleys. Louis replied that such

lies," than they suffered from them. Thurloe, III. 536. In this manner, to use the language of Mr. Hallam, did the catholics endeavour "to lie down" the scandal which this affair had brought upon them. But the fabricator who would succeed in his vocation must keep his inventions somewhere within the bounds of probability.

an employment of his soldiers was without any order from him, and contrary to his wishes ; and that the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who was an independent sovereign, was not a matter of which he could be competent to take cognizance. But Cromwell reminded his Christian majesty of what he might readily accomplish, and of what was expected from him, and did so in terms which disposed him to promise that his best offices should be employed to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the dispute between the duke and the protestants of the valleys. Louis, after shewing a strong disinclination to act at all in this affair, now moved with a precipitation which equally justified suspicion. The duke consented to leave his claims subject to the arbitration of the King of France ; and under the mediation of Servien, the French ambassador, and of the four ambassadors from the protestant cantons of Switzerland, terms of peace were offered to the deputies of the Piedmontese at Pignerol, which they were prevailed upon to accept. These terms were much more favourable than would have been submitted to them had not the interference of Cromwell attracted so much attention to their wrongs. But it was foreseen that larger concessions would be demanded, and a more jealous scrutiny extended to the language employed in the articles of this treaty, if it should be procrastinated until the arrival of the special ambassadors deputed from England, and from the States-general of the United Provinces. Cromwell spoke of the treaty of Pignerol, from the first, as a smuggled, treacherous proceeding, and the subsequent conduct of the Savoy government confirmed every suspicion entertained concerning its sincerity. So ambiguous was much of the language adopted in that treaty, that its articles were afterwards pleaded in support of many acts of oppression, precisely of the kind which it was supposed

they had been framed to preclude. But Cromwell, as the following documents will especially shew, never ceased to watch and check the malevolence of their enemies; and though they continued subject to many grievances, no attempt was made to renew the atrocities of 1655. It should be added, that the collections made for their relief in the churches throughout England, amounted to nearly forty thousand pounds. These monies were transmitted to them in several payments, and appear to have been distributed with humanity and discretion.

In conclusion, then, let the actions of Cromwell be judged, as every sober man is concerned his own should be judged,—not in themselves merely, but in connexion with a due consideration of the circumstances of them; and let his character, as developed by his actions thus viewed, be regarded as a whole, and not in any of its parts only; and though, even then, there may be infirmity enough remaining to prefer a large demand on our charitable forbearance, the Cromwell present to our imagination will not be that compound of everything guilty in ambition, vulgar in sentiment, and hateful in hypocrisy, which it has been the pleasure of our fashionable writers since 1660 to depict as the portraiture of this extraordinary man. The English people have not shewn themselves disposed to admire such monsters as these representations exhibit; and Cromwell, notwithstanding the ceaseless effort made by certain classes to cover him with infamy, was popular with a large portion of the people of England during his life, and, with all his acknowledged faults, he retains the same place in their honest admiration to this day. He understood the character of his countrymen far better than his censors have understood his own; and was himself so much built up by the influence of the

qualities to which his head and heart did homage, as to embody in his own mental and moral habits, an extraordinary measure of that robust intelligence and virtue by which the middle classes in England have always been distinguished.

Few men who have been in anything like the same degree the property of their times, have acquitted themselves in their private relations in a manner bespeaking a more just sense of the obligations which belong to such connexions. His heart was manifestly formed to enjoy, in an eminent degree, the pleasures which good men derive from the exercise of the domestic affections. His enemies may insinuate the contrary—but history reports, that whatever storms were raging abroad, his home was a sanctuary in which he found himself encircled by affection and fidelity. In religion, his opinions were in substance those of the puritans, which were allied in his case with the same varied and powerful exercise of feeling and imagination, the same strong blending of light and shadow, which characterized the mental history of that class of Christians. He was, indeed, more tolerant, in some respects, than the puritans had ever been ; but he shared, almost to the full, in their hatred of popery, and was susceptible of enthusiastic illusion in a greater degree than can be affirmed concerning that body. It has been common to attribute his language and conduct on the subject of religion to hypocrisy ; but that it was, on the whole, sincere, is beyond reasonable doubt. His private correspondence, and his death-bed, afford sufficient evidence on this point.

In his public conduct, the great charge against him is that of dissimulation ; and it is not to be denied that his character in this respect is by no means invulnerable. The object of his labour was to bring order out of chaos ;

and that he might attemper the elements about him to his purpose, he sometimes conformed himself to them as no man governed by a lofty or refined sense of the morally proper would have done. But as he looked to the magnitude of the end, he became reconciled to the doubtful character of the means which seemed to promise its accomplishment. It was not his manner to dissemble, any more than to shed blood, for the mere pleasure of doing it. It should ever be remembered that he was not an hereditary sovereign, with a people grown up around him in habits of deference to his authority. Men crossed his path at all points who were prepared to deny him their allegiance, even to his face; and the rest were rather to be humoured as equals, than treated as those who were born to obey. Kings—and kings sometimes highly praised for their general excellence of character—have assured us, that the man who knows not how to dissemble knows not how to reign; and if we look to the general circumstances of the order of persons who are born to sovereignty, and to those of Cromwell as Protector of the English commonwealth, the former must be regarded as scarcely knowing what a temptation to dissemble means, if compared with the latter. Yet how few who have reigned long, especially in difficult times, if weighed with fairness in this respect against Cromwell, would be found to place him at disadvantage. The dissimulation, indeed, of persons who have been nursed in courts, does not often assume the garb of puritanism, nor is it usual with such persons to adapt themselves, when engaged in this part of their vocation, to the defective taste of the guard-room or of the multitude. But we demur strongly to the maxim which affirms that vice loses half its evil by losing something of its grossness. It is, in all cases, what it is, independently of the mere

circumstance of adaptation to the conventional notions of propriety which prevail in one circle or another. Cromwell dissembled in the fashion to be expected from him, viewed in the circumstances of his origin and history. The great difference between him, in this respect, and the martyr king against whom he drew his sword, was, not that he felt less scruple than his illustrious opponent in yielding to this truly odious tendency, but that it sometimes betrayed itself, in his case, in a manner which is as much at variance with our taste as with our ideas of rectitude; and, unhappily, the majority of polite people inform us, in a thousand ways, that they are less disturbed by an offence against morals, than by an offence against refinement—so much so as to make it almost appear, that, in their esteem, a man is scarcely to be deemed a sinner at all, so long as he is careful to sin with the air of a courtier. Do we mean by these observations to extenuate the guilt of hypocrisy? Not in the least. Their object is rather to detect and expose that subtle vice where least suspected; particularly in men who, inasmuch as they speak loftily concerning their philosophy, ought not to be regarded as innocent in putting their tastes, after this manner, in the place of their principles, and in affecting, as the consequence, to see moral differences in the great characters of past times, which they must know to be in a great degree imaginary, and adopted for the purpose of making a dishonest use of vulgar prejudice.*

* Dr. Harris has collected a series of testimonies on the old subject of Cromwell's hypocrisy, (III. 93—103.) The declamation from Cowley, and from the tract intitled *Killing no Murder*, he might have omitted as of small value. Nor do we attach much more weight to the invectives of Lord Hollis. The anecdote from Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimstone, is deserving of more attention; but it is so imperfect as to leave the degree of insincerity proved by it uncer-

Be it said then, once for all,—no pressure of circumstances can justify an act of insincerity or injustice. But when Cromwell is charged with dissimulation; with having made use of parties at one time whom he put down at another; with severity towards the English royalists; with cruelty in Ireland; and with becoming a party to the death of the king, possibly against his own better judgment;—we are bound to consider the temptations to which the circumstances in which he was placed exposed him, and the tendency of the peculiarities in his religious opinions and natural temperament, and then to reflect how many men there have been who, in a similar position, would have preserved an unblemished character. The activity of public life brings a current along with it which never fails to test the moral principles, and in a degree which private persons can rarely comprehend. Even in quiet times,

tain. It is admitted that Cromwell's defence, in that instance, was so successful, that his antagonists, had they persisted in their accusation, would probably have been sent to the Tower by order of the parliament. The narrative concerning Cromwell's conduct towards Cornet Joyce sets forth base dealing; but is liable to suspicion as being anonymous, and still more on account of the improbabilities and gross misstatements contained in it, though mixed up with particulars carrying with them the appearance of truth. The last witness adduced is Ludlow, who speaks of Cromwell as insincere in urging that Fairfax should undertake the command of the army prepared to invade Scotland soon after the death of the king. But Mrs. Hutchinson, a more discriminating and less passionate adversary, expresses her conviction that his conduct on that occasion was honest, nor do the circumstances mentioned by Ludlow prove the contrary. The other example adduced from this last writer is in the fact that Cromwell, when meditating violent proceedings against the parliament, affected to be pushed on to such courses by Lambert and Harrison, when he had, in fact, been assiduous in getting them over to his views. This charge appears to have been well founded, and in other accusations of this nature there was probably some truth, but truth that would be found to be of comparatively small amount if separated from the mass of exaggeration, misconception, and falsehood, with which it is connected.

men who take the lead in political parties are too apt to bring themselves to believe that the success of their party is necessary to the well-being of the state; and that the loss of their power would be the greatest calamity to their country; but in a revolutionary period, when every political passion is excited to the highest degree, this tendency must be augmented in a manner of which persons who have always lived under a regular government can hardly form a conception. In this excitement, as pervading the mass of society in his time, Cromwell fully shared, and to its influence, in part, we must attribute the fact of his having lived and died satisfied that his conduct, in the main, had been governed by the principles of rectitude, and the feelings of humanity.

His failing to be thus viewed by the nation at large, was less the consequence of defectiveness in himself, than of certain fixed elements in our national character, which no force of circumstances has hitherto sufficed to remove, or much to disturb. Had the people of England in that age, been as susceptible as the people of France have since shewn themselves, of the kind of fascination which is inseparable from the display of national superiority, so as to have been capable of regarding the pleasure derived from that one source as a compensation for all other losses, the restoration of the Stuarts might have been effected by the intervention of a foreign power, but would never have been the act of the nation. But the English people still clung with a proud determination to the substance of their ancient institutions, and especially to the idea of being governed by men whose sires had moved in the same high regions of authority from remote times. This passion was far stronger in them than any other that could be influenced by the unprecedented position ceded to their country on

the part of the most powerful states of Europe. Hence, while eager to retain and invigorate their popular institutions, they could not, as a nation, be brought to look with approval on the person who filled the place of their ancient kings. It was in vain to remind them of the noble-hearted patriotism by which the protector was distinguished ; or of those high mental qualities which seemed to bespeak him as born to sovereignty ; they still dwelt on the conventional blemish of his obscure birth, and that consideration, instead of pleading some excuse for his faults, only served to divest them, in common with himself, of all privilege, and to bring upon them a merciless censorship. There may be more to condemn than to admire in this feature of our character as a people ; but those who look upon it with most disfavour will perhaps admit, that, next to the genuine love of country, there is no passion, notwithstanding its usual follies, and its dangerous excesses, that does so much to expel the dross of social selfishness, and to beget a refined generosity of temper, as the passion of loyalty.

LETTERS,

ETC.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Utrecht, April 20, old style, 1654.

SIR,—M. D. [Dury]* wrote to you at the Hague, April 14, 24. I hope that letter is come to your hands, and therefore I will not again trouble you with the relation of our journey thither. The next day we parted. He went to Amsterdam ; I to Utrecht, where I stayed for him. He came not hither till this morning. He tells me that he hath, in a letter from Amsterdam, given some account of what he did there ; and that he cannot go hence to-day ; but that to-morrow morning he will be ready to go with me, early enough to get to Arnheim before the gates are shut. From thence we intend to make all possible haste, so that by next post-day we hope to be well advanced in our way.

* John Dury was a Scottish divine, and the author of many political and theological tracts. Some of his papers are preserved among the Sloane MSS. He was deputed with Pell to negotiate on the affairs of the Swiss protestants.

I pray you, cause this inclosed to be delivered. If hereafter I shall inclose any letter without a superscription, I pray you not to forget it is for my master, who, though he employ many factors abroad more exercised than I have yet been, yet I hope he shall find none more careful and faithful than is,

Sir,

Your most humble servant.

For Mr. Adrian Peters, merchant, at London.*

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

May, 1654.

SIR,—I received yours and your colleague's, one of the 19th of April, the other, the 20th, and also that of the 26th April, from Cologne, and am glad you are safely arrived there ; my prayers shall be, that you may find the same presence with you to your journey's end. I have very little to trouble you with by this. There are great endeavours used by the French to make an alliance here, but no progress is made therein as yet ; nor will there be, without making full provision for the protestants, and that you may be confident upon on all occasions ; nay, that no agreement at all will be made without communicating with those to whom you are sent. What

* This was the feigned name and address under which Pell frequently wrote to Secretary Thurloe, and which the Secretary used in his answers.

proceedings there are, you shall have full knowledge of them by me, that you may know the better how to carry yourself. Nothing hath happened very remarkable in Scotland since you went hence. We sometimes meet with small parties ; the last brought us, that we took Middleton's son and sixteen men ; Middleton himself is in Caithness, the most northerly place in Scotland ; Morgan is gone after him, as far as his horse can march, but cannot provoke him to fight. My Lord Whitelock hath concluded a peace with Sweden, and is returning home. The Danish ambassador, or agent, hath had his first public audience, which is all that is done in the treaty. I hear that Count Harcourt hath declared for the Spaniard, and received a Spanish garrison into Brisac. I desire much to know the truth of it, and what strength he is of, and how the condition of affairs is in those parts. I rest,
Your assured friend, ADRIAN PETERS.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

26 May, 1654.

SIR,—I have received your letters from Strasburg, being glad that you are got so well onward of your journey. I wish the rest as prosperous and safe. I have not much to enlarge upon at this time, affairs not being much altered from the state wherein

you left them. Scotland, in the highlands, holds out yet. Middleton* is in Caithness, with 4000 horse and foot, where he is not likely much to increase ; our intelligence is, that he decreaseth. Morgan endeavours all he can to fight him ; which if he can accomplish, the success thereof will go far into that whole business. There is no considerable party besides in the country: those that are, are dispersed as they can be met with.

There hath been a plot discovered this week against the Protector and the government, by some desperate people of the king's party ; the discovery whereof hath, I hope, prevented it. The scum and feces of that party were engaged in it, and none else that I can hear of.

They here are in treaty with France ; the French ambassador hath delivered in a concept of articles, which tend little to the conclusion of a peace. Your work will not be prejudiced hereby, you may rely upon it ; and I would be very glad to understand your apprehensions fully concerning the point one of yours mentioned, which you had by discourse with Stockar.

* Middleton had been sent over by Charles II. to head the Scottish insurgents in the highlands. He was a man of some military reputation, and had been second in command at the battle of Worcester, but became more notorious afterwards, by the part which he performed as royal commissioner in the first Scottish parliament after the Restoration.

I wish you both good health, and the presence of the Lord with you.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 2nd, old style, 1654.

SIR,—The usual time, in summer, for letters to pass between London and this town is twenty days, and, accordingly, your first, dated 12 May, came not to my hands till this morning. By it I understood you had received ours from Cologne. Nor need we make any question hereafter of the safe conveyance of our letters both to and from us, and therefore I shall not repeat the contents of our former letters, which we sent by every post that we came near.

We came hither May 18; so that we have been here a fortnight. The privy council of this town hath authority from all the rest, to open all letters addressed to them all: they have sent copies of mine to all those that were concerned; from whom having now received answers, they have summoned delegates from the protestants to meet at Aaraw (their usual place), ten days hence, to give us audience then. They hope Mr. Stockar will be there by that time, but we do not yet hear that he is come home.

Twelve days after (viz., June 24) is the day for the yearly general meeting of all, papists as well as protestants, at Baden. It is believed that their final

answer will be given to the French concerning the league. Zurich seems resolved never to renew it, with hope that the other protestant cantons are free to do what they think good in it. Solodurn (where the French ambassador ordinarily resides) hath already renewed the league for their own part; and their principals have received the sum of money promised them for the effecting of it. But, it is said, that they laugh at two of their neighbour cantons, who, in hope of the like gain, have been forward to renew their league, but the ambassador hath not performed his promise to them. It is thought, the protestant cantons will answer the French ambassador, that they will willingly abide in the perpetual peace and amnesty heretofore agreed on between France and them, but resolve never to renew the league, which obliges them to send so many soldiers. The ministers here have been exceeding and vehement against that league, always calling it *fædum fædus*, &c. Some of them would have the protestants renounce their confederacy with the popish cantons, and also with France, and go fetch their arrears by force; but, for ought I yet can perceive, their statesmen are cooler, desiring, if it be possible, to be at peace with all their neighbours. Only time can tell us what alterations may be made in the counsels by new emergencies. I rest, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

I give you thanks for your news.

Mr. Hartlib* hath sent us the articles of the peace in French. By the dates of your letters, it is manifest, that when I write to London I must not expect an answer here in less than seven weeks, so that it is now high time for me to beseech you to take order for some supplies of money for me. If you cause any sum to be delivered to Mr. Haak, he can make it over to me, without further trouble to you ; or, if he be not in the way, be pleased to send it to Nicholas Corsellis, a merchant well known on the Exchange, who will take order for the payment of it here.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

2-12 June, 1654.

SIR,—I received yours from Basle of the 16-26 May; the next I shall expect from Zurich. You

* Mr. Samuel Hartlib is the person to whom Milton dedicated his "Treatise on Education." Sir William Petty also subsequently inscribed one of his works to the same person.—(Symons's *Life of Milton*, page 179.) Evelyn, in a letter to Mr. Wotton, in 1703, gives the following account of him :—"Mr. Hartlib was, I think, a Lithuanian, who, coming for refuge hither to avoid the persecution in his country, with much industry recommended himself to many charitable persons, and, among the rest, to Mr. Boyle, by communicating to them many secrets in chemistry, and improvements of agriculture, and other useful novelties, by his general correspondence abroad, of which he has published several treatises. Besides this, he was not unlearned ; zealous, and religious, with so much latitude as easily recommended him to the godly party then governing, among whom (as well as Mr. Boyle, and others, who used to pity and cherish strangers,) he found no small subsistence during his exile. I had very many letters from him, and often relieved him."

had by the last post what news that week did afford ; the most which hath happened since is the discovery of a desperate plot, with an attempt upon the person of the Protector and his council, and, at the same time, to have seized upon the guards at the Mews, St. James's, and Whitehall. The party engaged herein were some desperate fellows come from France, by the appointment of Charles Stuart, and had engaged several people here of desperate fortunes. The time was set for the execution, and prevented by a great providence of God. No persons of honour or interest were engaged in it, but disown it, but only such as have neither conscience nor estates, and certainly could hope to do nothing more by it than to put things into a sudden confusion and disorder, out of which they hoped something of advantage might arise out of it to their party—there are near twenty of these persons taken and imprisoned.

We have had no news of Scotland this week considerable ; things remained as they did by my last ; certainly the enemy is much discouraged, and consumes every day. They lie in the hills, from whence we doubt not but soon to beat them, if it please God to give us forage for our horse, which will be by the middle of this month.

The treaty with France hath not been advanced these ten days, by reason of our attendance upon this discovery. I suppose you hear of the troubles in the Low Countries, upon the secret article passed

between us and the Hollanders. The two ambassadors, Beverningh and Neuport, have delivered the ratifications of it to his Highness, under the seal of Holland; so that the hopes which they had of getting it retracted are lost. You know, the secret article is for the seclusion of the Prince of Orange, and his line, for ever, from being stadtholders, or captain-generals of the Low Countries.

If my last letter came to you, you will be assured that nothing will be done here in any treaty to the prejudice of your negociations, and therefore you may go boldly on. I long to hear whether my letters come safely to you, or not. The Lord be with you.

I remain, yours, ADRIAN PETERSON.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

10th June, 1654.

SIR,—I have received yours from Zurich of the 20th of May, and am glad to hear of your arrival there. The hints you give of a peace between France and Spain, and the endeavours made that way, I desire you particularly to get information of, and how both parties doth incline thereto; and which of them most; as also the condition of each others' affairs in Alsace. The rest of your negotiation I can say nothing to, because as yet I have received nothing from you thereupon. Nothing will be done here to interrupt it, as you were assured by

my former to you. There is indeed a treaty with France on foot, but nothing done thereupon. The interests of the protestants will not be forsaken.

There has been here a devilish plot against the Protector, to murder him, and then seize upon his council and guards about Whitehall, the Mews, and St. James's, the gates of the city, &c., and thereupon to proclaim Charles Stuart. All this hath been discovered by a hand of Providence. Some of the persons of it are apprehended—others are fled.

It was laid by the old cavalier party. Those taken are Sir Gilbert Gerard, of Worcestershire, always a cavalier; John Gerard and Charles Gerard, his brothers; one Somerset Fox; Mr. Vowell,* &c. There are also committed Mr. John Ashburnham and William Ashburnham, not for this immediate plot, but yet for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, and for furnishing him with money. Sir Richard Willis† is likewise in the tower,

* Vowell was the master of the Free School at Islington. He was hanged on the 10th of July.

† Sir Richard Willis (like the Ashburnhams) was a royalist, and had been governor of Newark, but is believed to have engaged from this time to betray the secrets of his party, so far as to enable the Protector to provide against them. (Godwin's Commonwealth, i. 493, iv. 505, 506, and the authorities cited.) Gerard, Fox, and Vowell were executed—the others were retained some time in confinement, and then set at liberty. "Sept. 25. Sir Richard Willis, and the rest of the gentlemen committed upon the business of Mr. Gerhard, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, are enlarged; but Colonel Ashburnham is still in custody, upon an account of some other nature."—*A Perfect Account*, No. 194.

as is also one Wiseman, of Westminster, deeply in the design. I believe some example of justice will be speedily made, the evidence of the fact being very clear against some of them.

A general rising was intended at the same time ; at least so much as should have given a diversion to the prosecution of the war in Scotland, which I hope will have a good issue. The enemy is certainly disheartened there ; and now that there is, or will suddenly be, forage for horses, our army will find out Middleton in the utmost parts of the Highlands. Some of our army got sight of some of his the other day, and the very appearance of ours made them run. We daily expect news considerable, the time of the year being now fit for action.

I suppose you hear of the great trouble there is in the Low Countries, about a secret article passed here between the Protector and provinces of Holland. It was delivered the last week to the Protector under the seal of the Province of Holland, and is for the seclusion of the Prince of Orange and his line from having the command in the United Provinces. There is very great animosities about it amongst the Provinces, but Holland will master all.

We are here expecting home my Lord Whitelock, who hath finished his treaty in Sweden. The great Assembly of the States are met there, wherein the Queen hath propounded, the resignation of the government, and she intends to execute it this week.

Here hath been a general search all over the town this night for suspicious persons. Divers are taken ; and I can assure you a stricter hand will be held upon the cavalier than ever there was. God so orders things, in his mercy, that everything they design tends to our advantage and their ruin.

The writs for summoning the Parliament* to meet the 3rd of September are issued out to the several sheriffs. I have not further to trouble you, but rest,

Your assured friend, PETERSON.

I received all your letters.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

23rd June, 1654.

SIR,—I received your two last, from Zurich, and with the last, a copy of one writ formerly to the Protector, by Mr. Stoupe,† of whom we have yet heard nothing. You must be careful whom you communicate with, lest our enemies come acquainted with our councils. I perceive you have not made any great progress in your business yet : only your reception was fair. You must industriously labour

* This was the first parliament after Cromwell had been created Protector.

† Stoupe, minister of the French church in London, who was sent to Geneva to negotiate on affairs relating to the French protestants.—*Thurloe*, ii. 246.

to know their temper and inclination, and with whom they have their closest correspondence, as also how the protestants stand affected round about.

I have not much to acquaint you with here. Our treaties go but slowly on. We are in a treaty both with France and Spain, wherein nothing will be done to the prejudice of the good interest, nor that may contradict your negociation. That of Portugal is concluded. My Lord Whitelock, by his last, of the 12th of June, was come homewards as far as Hamburg; so that we expect him every day.* How the affairs of Scotland stand you will see by the little paper enclosed. I hope this summer will put an end to the business.

My last acquainted you with that desperate plot which was against the Protector. The discovering of it I hope will be of great advantage. The malignant party were generally engaged, though not to assassinate the Protector—that they profess to abhor—yet to subvert the government; which I hope will make us keep a watchful eye upon them. There is a High Court of Justice set up for the trial of them, and three of the conspirators will be tried the next week. Charles Stuart, Hyde,† and Ormond,‡ re-

* Whitelock arrived at Gravesend, in his return from Sweden, on the 30th day of June.

† Afterwards Lord Clarendon.

‡ Marquis, afterwards Duke of Ormond—the name so conspicuous in the history of Ireland subsequent to the reign of Strafford.

solved upon and set on foot this assassination. You know how Charles Stuart's father came to the crown.* It seems that his posterity is good at that also. I rest,

Your assured friend, M. TEIGE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

30th June, 1654.

SIR,—I received yours of the 10th of June, 1654, which stated the deliverance Mr. Stoupe had at Basil; I wish he was not taken afterwards, for we hear yet nothing of him. We are now in expectation of what you will do at the meeting at Arraw. Hitherto your journey and business hath been with success, and we do conceive great hopes upon it. The intelligence which came enclosed in yours represents the protestants in those parts lively and awake, looking after deliverance. I suppose you will be able, in a little time, to understand their temper and complexion fully and certainly, which way they look for deliverers and what they will propound on that behalf. You know the mind and desires of those here.

I let you know in my last that Monsieur Bass

* The Duke of Buckingham was charged, in his impeachment, with having administered medicine to James I. without consulting the royal physician; and Sir John Eliot was represented as having alluded to the conduct of Charles himself in that particular as not free from blame.

was sent home for being found in the confederacy with such as lend their hands in the late design and plot. Monsieur Bourdeaux, the ambassador, yet remains here, with whom they are in a treaty. One article (as I hear and believe) which is insisted upon on that side is, that the protestants in France should enjoy all their privileges granted to them by any former Prince, and I am told that this will not be departed from. You shall hear, by the next, what will become of this treaty.

The High Court of Justice sat this day, before whom were arraigned three of the complotters—viz., Gerard, Fox, and Vowell. The evidence was most clear against them, and I suppose they will receive the judgment of death to-morrow, the court having taken time to deliver judgment, until then.

From Scotland we have nothing at all this week. Our army is marched so far into the Highlands, that we shall very seldom hear from them now. Charles Stuart is going to the Spaw, where will be a great meeting upon his interest, as they say. My Lord Whitelock is not yet arrived. He is on his way between this and Hamburg. I can acquaint you with no further particulars now, and indeed I am loath to write at large until I know my letters arrive with you.

Your assured friend, A. P.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 1, 1654.

SIR,—In our last week's letter, dated June 24, we told you that we had received none from you that week; but the next day, by an extraordinary way, we received one of yours, dated June 10, by which we perceived you had received our first from this city. We give you many thanks for so full a relation concerning that conspiracy, and hope that shortly you will be able to sound it to the bottom.

As for the peace between France and Spain, the more we inquire after it here, the less assurance we find of it. The interests of both countries do still seem irreconcilable, and their intrigues inextricable.

We are informed that Prince Rupert is certainly come to his brother, the elector, to Heidelberg.*

The parliament, as we may call it, or most general meeting of all the cantons at Baden, began the last Monday, that is, June 25. We have yet heard nothing from thence but this—that the French ambassador came thither with 150 horse; that at

* Prince Rupert had just quitted the service of Charles II. in disgust. An intercepted letter, dated 6th June, 1654, (from Paris, apparently,) describes him as leaving many weeping eyes at Paris, “as some say, because he pays not his debts, not for his person or parts.”—*Thurloe Papers*, ii. 322.

the first he wholly took them up with hearkening to his proposals, not only about the league, in which he is not likely to advance much, but also about the French queen's jewels delivered to a colonel of this canton in part of payment to the soldiery; but brought away out of Paris hither by a Swiss captain, about this time two years. The man now absents himself, and it is said he is gone to seek a good chapman for them, protesting he will sell them, because the French king has not redeemed them at the time appointed. It is a long story, and I have not yet learned all the circumstances of it; but if it be not composed before it break out to so considerable effects as some fear, I shall endeavour to send you a full and orderly narration of the whole business.

Mr. Stockar* is come to Baden, and is to-morrow to give an account to those deputies of the protestant cantons which he found there. I hear that he was much more caressed at the Hague and Amsterdam than he was at Westminster: it is thought he will shortly be here, and then it is likely I shall see him and speak with him.

This week we have not received any letter from you. By the next post we hope to receive your answer to our large letter of May 27, and, perhaps, to those which we sent June 2, by Mr. Stoupe, if he

* Or Stockard, envoy of the protestant cantons at the Hague.—*Thurloe*, ii. 80, 85, 98.

made so much haste as he spoke of when he went hence. In that which I sent by him I prayed you to take order for some supplies of money for me (my predecessor was forced to go hence much in debt.) If Mr. Haak be not in the way, I pray you cause what sum you please to be delivered to Nicholas Corsellis, a merchant, of London, with order to make it over to Mr. John Pell, at Zurich, by the hands of Frantz Baldè, of Frankfort.

Your humble servant.

P. S.—In a letter from another hand, I find one Wharton named for a great conspirator; but your letter makes no mention of him. I desire to know whether it be he that writes himself George Wharton, Esq.,* in the title pages of his almanacks.

* In the newspapers we learn, that on the first of June “One Mr. Wharton, in Blackfriars, should have proclaimed Charles Stuart, who is taken; and another in Holborn last night in woman’s apparel.” By the lists of the prisoners, in succeeding numbers of the same papers, we learn that this was a John Wharton, and not George Wharton. (See his confession, with others, in Thurloe, ii. 330—334.) George (afterwards Sir George) Wharton, “a loyal astrologer,” was born at Kirby Kendal, in Westmoreland, in 1617. Evelyn mentions him as secretary of the commission for regulating the farming and making of saltpetre. July 3, 1666, “I went to sit with the commissioners at the Tower, where our commission being read, we made some progress in business, our secretary being Sir George Wharton, that famous mathematician who wrote the yearly almanack during his Majesty’s troubles.” Some account of Sir George Wharton is given in the preface to his works, 8vo, 1683.

(*Upon a loose paper inclosed.*)

I have had occasion to tell the two principal men of this city that my instructions do give me power to assure the protestant cantons, that if they send any students into England his Highness will give order for their good entertainment and accommodation, and that some of them may have such places of exhibition as they are capable of. I find the like hath been done here by the French king and the Prince Elector Palatine, and is now continued to the Grisons by the King of Spain for the breeding up of some at Milan; but I have not yet gotten an exact account how many are maintained, and how largely. Yesterday, a preacher of this city, of good esteem, (being one of the six divines that are appointed to treat with Mr. Dury,) came to me, and told me that his eldest son, a student of divinity, about two and twenty years old, had studied at Geneva, but is now at Basil; that he cannot well maintain him any longer abroad because he has five children more, which, growing up, must have something done for them also; that otherwise he would maintain him in the Universities three or four years longer; that he hath been put in hope that by my recommendation he may be provided for in England. I promised that I would write by the next post in his behalf.

I pray you, therefore, as soon as may be, let me know what I may further promise in his Highness's

name, to any such students in these cantons and their protestant confederates ; and more especially what answer I shall give to this preacher for his son. I hope his Highness will look upon him as his first *alumnus* out of these parts, and give me power to assure him of somewhat that may be thought well worth so long a journey.

(*Upon another loose paper inclosed.*)

I know very well that it doth not become me to prescribe ; and therefore I pray you pardon this paper, if it take upon it to say, that all things considered, it cannot be fit to offer any student coming from hence less than thirty pounds sterling by the year, with five pounds for his *welcome*, and five pounds for his *viaticum* towards his return home, this were but 100 pounds sterling in three years.

I say this the rather because I have not forgotten what meager scholarships and fellowships there are in some colleges, besides the uncertainty of some of them, depending upon the price of corn.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

London, July 7, 1654.

SIR,—I received yours from Zurich of the 17th June, whereby I see your reception at Araw by the deputies of the protestant cantons. You should have sent copies of what you delivered in and received from them, which, I pray, do not omit for

the future, for without that it will be hard for us to know exactly what you are doing, or what further instructions to give, as the present affairs shall require. We hear nothing of Mr. Stoupe, nor did Mr. Secretary Th. receive any letter from J. D., or J. P., concerning the merchants of St. Gall, or any others whatsoever.*

Things here remain much as they did by the last. Thirty articles have been delivered in to the French ambassador; one whereof is, that the protestants in France shall have the free exercise of their religion, and enjoy all their privileges whatsoever; and this (as I believe) will not be departed from, H. H.† continuing his ancient zeal to the protestant religion, whereof nobody need doubt nor have the least scruple, but may build the greatest resolutions thereupon. I did, by your former letter from Amsterdam, understand Monsr. Stockar his proposition as far as is now expressed, which is, that H. H. would not conclude with France without minding their concernment; but all the question is, what the concernment is, and what they would have us propound on their behalf, and in what manner; and whether the cantons do desire this, or whether Monsr. Stockar spoke it of his own mind; and until this be known there can be nothing done in a business of this nature.

* The letters seem to have occasionally miscarried, and to have been frequently delayed on the road.

† His Highness.

Yesterday there was condemned, by the High Court of Justice, three persons,—viz., John Gerard, Peter Vowell, and Somerset Fox, as guilty of high treason against the Protector and government. The last of them is reprieved to the parliament, in respect that he was ingenuous at the trial, confessing the whole design as far as he knew it.

Yesterday was condemned the Portuguese Ambassador's brother, three other Portuguese, and an Englishman, for the murder in the Exchange.* They were tried by a jury half English and half Frenchmen ; the evidence was most clear and plain. Their execution is appointed by the Court on Monday next. Applications are made to the Protector to save them ; what resolutions he will take I cannot yet tell.

Things in Scotland go but slowly on. Middleton keeps in the hills and avoids fighting. Moncke marches on as fast as he can ; he is now about Loughaughler ; all the garrisons as he goes submit unto him.

Charles Stewart went, about ten days hence, from Paris,† giving out that he is going to Spain ; but another journey is suspected. H. H. wrote a letter to Zealand, upon occasion of the differences

* Don Pantaleon Sa, who had murdered a man in the Exchange in the preceding November, supposing him to have been the same John Gerard concerned in the plot, with whom he had quarrelled.

† Clarendon says he left Paris about the beginning of June.

between the provinces about the secret article, to persuade them to peace and union, to prevent the designs of the malignant party ; and I hear the letter took very well.

It is said here, that the affair between Spain and Genoa will soon be reconciled ; but methinks it hath another complexion. Get as certain intelligence and information as you can about the affairs in the parts where you are, and especially concerning the protestant party.

Your assured friend, ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 8, 1654.

I WROTE to you the last week, but have received none from you since June 25. The last of yours was dated June 10 ; so that it came in fifteen days, which we wondered at, it being seldom heard that an express should be able to get hither in so short a time, especially if he go (as that letter) not the shortest way through France. We hope that your extraordinary employments at this time hindered your writing to us ; for we are not willing to entertain a fear that your letters to us have been twice intercepted.

The citizens here do look for the return of their deputies from their grand assembly about a week hence. In the meantime they are not able to give us

a particular account of what hath been done there. It is said that the French ambassador there offers to lay down ready money for the jewels mentioned in my last ; but the man that hath them in keeping is not yet in sight. The same ambassador hath also undertaken to demonstrate that that letter was counterfeit which, this time twelvemonth, was presented to them all, as from the Emperor, to persuade them to except Alsatia in their league with France, if they would needs renew it. The man that presented it is well known, a burgomaster of Uri, (one of the popish cantons.) He served the Emperor as colonel against the Swedes in Germany. The general opinion is, that the Emperor sent him a blank, signed with his own hand, and a commission to pen such a letter, in his name, as the state of their affairs should require. They have so good an opinion of the man, for a patriot, that he is now chosen by this great assembly for one of the four that are to hear that intricate question of the jewels, and the claims of all the captains, and to make an end of it, if they can, lest it should prove a spark of contention to set all this country on fire, as some have hoped.

I fear that all the cantons, as well papist as protestant, (save only Solodurn and Lucern,) did agree to give the French ambassador this answer—that they will not give ear to any proposals of their renewing their league, till the King, his master, hath

paid them all the money already due to them. But he cannot be ignorant that Zurich hath already decreed that, for their part, they will not renew the league with the French King, although he pay them all the money due to them; and, to make it the surer, have taken that business out of the hand of the fifty, and made it a reserved case for their supreme council of two hundred men.

Mr. Stockar hath written from Baden to his friends here, that he will come and see them, three or four days hence. From him we hope to learn some more particulars, and with more certainty.

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL AND
MR. DURY.

London, 14th July, 1654.

GENTLEMEN,—I received yours from Zurich of the 24th of June, with the papers inclosed, which administer no occasion of further instructions unto you, nor doth anything which hath occurred here since your departure. That which at present is of most consideration is, the treaty with France. I perceive the Protector insists to have an article inserted into the treaty—that those of the reformed religion in France should have the exercise of their religion as full as they ought by any law granted. But this the ambassador seems positively to deny.

And if both persist in their resolutions, as I perceive they will, little is to be expected from the treaty. In the mean time the hostility continues. This day we had news that the ships of this state have brought in three Frenchmen of good value. The form of including the protestant cantons into the peace made between this and the state of the United Provinces is agreed upon, and a copy thereof comes herewith unto you : the original I keep by me, until I hear that this is safely arrived, and then I shall send that. In the mean time, you shall do well to communicate this to the cantons. Two of the conspirators in the late plot were executed on Monday last, (Vowell and Gerard ;) Vowell was hanged at the Mews, Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill. The Portuguese ambassador's brother was likewise beheaded at the same time, for the murder done upon the Exchange.* It is very observable, that the quarrel upon the Exchange was begun by those two persons who were condemned and executed both of a-day, though for several crimes. Care will be taken to return your money. I will add no more now, being in haste, but subscribe me,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

ADRIAN PETERS.

* See, for the particulars of this conspiracy, State Trials, v. 518, *et seq.*; and as implicating Charles, and the exiled court, Godwin, iv. 73, *et seq.*, and Thurloe, ii. 248, 249, 257, 258, 330, 331—336, 350—355.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 15th, 1654.

SIR,—I wrote to you by the last post. The next day Mr. Stockar came to this town. I spake not with him till Tuesday, July 11. He did not remember that ever he had seen me in England ; nor did I speak with him here but in the hearing of M. D. [Dury], and therefore the relation of that meeting I leave to him.

The next day, that is, July 12, I visited the elder burgomaster, (for here they have, as it were, two lord mayors at a time.) He was gone to the baths a little before our coming hither, and came home this day was seven night, so that I had never seen him before. I first sent to the principal secretary, desiring him to send me word when I might conveniently visit the burgomaster. At the hour appointed, the same secretary, attended with an officer, came to conduct me to the burgomaster's house, where we found the old man, with divers officers, expecting us. He led me into an inner parlour, where (none being by, but the said secretary) I spoke to him in Latin ; and, after some passages of civility, I told him I should hereafter crave his advice for the managing of such commands as I should receive from H. H. He understands Latin very well ; but told me he had given over speaking of Latin these fifty years ; and so answered

in high Dutch, in which he is marvellously ready and eloquent. He spoke long, with great signs of affection towards us. He said, he had met M. D. at church, and spoken with him there ; that our letters, speeches, &c., had been communicated to him ; and that he should willingly contribute his endeavours, advice, and authority ; that their deputies (the other burgomaster and a proconsul) would, within a few days, return from Baden ; and that then he should see what resolutions the deputies of the other cantons had communicated to those of this city.

Afterwards, we three fell into a motley dialogue, he always in high Dutch, but the secretary and I speaking only in Latin. They inquired concerning the late conspiracy in London, concerning the state of our church, of independents, &c. ; and, upon that occasion, shewed me a book in high Dutch against them, and another book, containing, both in French and high Dutch, the confession of faith penned by the assembly of divines at Westminster. After I had answered their queries, I put them upon other discourse, concerning themselves and neighbours, and concerning Austria, and the sad news come from thence to this town but that morning. The old man seemed not to believe the truth of it, having not seen sufficient confirmation of it in any letters immediately from Vienna. At our parting, he brought me to his outer street-door, and then

left me to be conducted to my lodging by the same secretary and officer that had brought me thither.

When I was come home, I was assured of the truth of that Austrian news, by a long letter in Italian, written from Vienna, July 9th (new style), which was the very day the King of the Romans died. This letter is so full of the particulars, that I had almost resolved to translate it, and send it to you, but I thought that most of those things would be well known to you before my letter could come to your hands ; for, by that time, the news will be, at the least, five weeks old ; yet it may be, no letters from thence will tell you, the emperor's second son, called the Arch-duke Leopold, is now about fourteen years old, a brave and resolute prince ; but the Romish clergy there do not like him, because he shews an averseness from them and their counsels ; and looks upon their worldly pomp as superfluities that do not become them, in-somuch that the protestants thereabouts flatter themselves with an expectation of times of refreshment under his sceptre, if it please the King of kings to continue his life. It is thought very probable that the emperor will endeavour to get him elected King of Hungary speedily ; as for Bohemia, that crown is counted hereditary ; but the third, that of the Romans, cannot so soon be procured ; nay, it is feared that the emperor will not live to see it procured for him, and then he will be in

danger to miss the imperial crown. Neither is he sure of Hungary, as being an elective kingdom ; besides, they fear that the Prince of Transylvania may stand in his way ; for, before the death of this young king, other letters from Vienna told us, that the Transylvanian army draw near the frontiers of that empire, and they doubted he meant them no good : how much more will they suspect him now ?

I have endeavoured to be pretty well informed from all quarters, though I do not stuff my letter to you with intelligence of all sorts ; because I find that most of those things may, by other ways, come to your hands two, three, or four or five weeks sooner than they can come first to me, and then from me to you.

Yesterday, I received yours of June 23 ; by which I perceived that you had received ours of May 27, and June 3. As to your advice to be careful lest our enemies become acquainted with our counsels, I hope I have hitherto used such caution, that it is impossible for them to be sure of anything ; but no endeavours are sufficient to keep men from suspecting and guessing.

But of my way of treating, I shall shortly have occasion to give a fuller account to yourself, or H. H. In the meantime, I pray to believe that I shall endeavour to deserve the title of a careful and faithful servant.

The preparations for the fleet at Toulon continue.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 22nd, 1654.

SIR,—The last week two letters were written here, and sent to you under one cover ; the one from M. D., concerning Mr. Stockar ; and the other from M. F., concerning the old burgomaster, &c., and the sadness of Vienna ; to which I may now add, that in Vienna the persecution of protestants increaseth so much, that the merchants are not safe, so that they are all thinking to forsake that city and the whole country of Austria. The emperor was crazy and unfit to travel, yet he is gone thence to Presburg, to get his young son chosen King of Hungary, which cannot be done so speedily as he desires ; for a Palatine must first be chosen, which (before his eldest son's death) he had deferred till the next spring, but now will hasten it as much as he can.

Yesterday, we received three letters of yours, dated June 2, June 30, and July 7. The first of them was in answer to ours from Basle ; it lost its way, so that it was seven weeks old ere it came hither ; the second was three weeks old ; and your third came to us in fourteen days. It seems the merchants have lately taken some good order for their postage through Germany ; for letters were wont to be longer upon the way ; and, I doubt, in winter will return to a greater slowness.

We wonder much that you have heard nothing of Mr. Stoupe. None of his friends in these countries have heard of him since he was at Frankfort, June 13.

The merchants of St. Gall undertook to send the letters which we wrote in their behalf; but it seems they would have sooner come to your hands if they had been left to our care.

In one of yours, you express a desire to know whether all yours be come to us. We have now received seven of yours, with these dates—May 12, 26, June 2, 9, 23, 30, July 7.

In your answer to ours of June 7, you make no mention of the inclosed to H. H. The papers which you say we should have sent then, we thought, for some reasons, might be more safely and conveniently sent in following letters.

It is not unlikely that, by this day seven-night, I shall have an answer to what was said at Araw; the deputies were stayed, by extraordinary occasions, at Baden a week longer than they expected, but they are returned to-day; and next Monday are to make relation of what was done there.

Till I hear their first answer I know not how to proceed with them. I am in hope to see them fall, as it were of themselves, into a resolution of sending to you. I conceive it is likely that they will speak their mind more plainly to a messenger of their own, than to me. Hitherto, I see no sign of their resolving upon anything opposite or destruc-

tive to the designs of H. H. ; and as long as I see that, I can more easily bear with slow march, which is in them incorrigible.

It is reported that the Switzers expect an ambassador out of the Low Countries. I believe not that the Netherlanders will make a journey thither out of mere compliment ; but perhaps they conceive that the controversies reserved for the Switzers' arbitration cannot be determined without them.

The weekly sheet of news printed at Genoa, July 1, by Farroni, tells us, that the Lord Protector hath changed the great seal of England ; setting upon the new one his own effigies on horseback, with this inscription—" *Olivero, il Grand Imperatore d'Inghilterra, di Scotia, Hibernia e Francia, e Protettore de protestanti, e delle chiese riformate.*" The same paper tells us, that the Lord Protector hath promised all possible help to the lords of Genoa, as deriving his original from Genoa.

The Earl of Lemos, governor of Sardinia, hath been informed, that the French fleet at Toulon is intended for the invading of his island, and therefore he hath made great preparation to repulse them.

From Florence they write, that since the Duke heard of the conspiracy at London, he seems not so much afraid of what the English can do to him this summer. Those countrymen that kept Porto Ferrajo he hath sent home to help in harvest, and, in

their places, hath put 500 newly-levied soldiers, all strangers.

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

28th July, 1654.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 8th instant. I perceive no great matter hath been yet acted at the meeting at Baden, but what concerns the league with France, which it seems the greatest number of cantons incline not to renew, unless their arrears were first paid. You once wrote that it would be well taken if England would interpose in that business with France. I do think it very convenient that you understand the mind and purpose of the cantons about it; and if they or any of them do desire it, that then they would put something in writing by way of advice, and I believe it would be complied with effectually here.

We had this day letters from Scotland that bring us news that Middleton's forces are dispersed; but yet we have not the particulars, and therefore you must expect them until the next.

The treaty with France stands as by my last, and so do all affairs here, so that I can add nothing of public business. I am sorry my letters came not to

hand—I fail not to write every week. I have spoke with Mr. Haak about returning money, which he will do, and warrants are signed both for yourself and Mr. Dury. I commend me heartily to you both, and rest,

Your assured friend to serve you, AD. PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 29, 1654.

SIR,—This sheet contains copies of all that hath hitherto passed in writing between me and those to whom I was sent. Between the instructions which I brought from England, and the cautions given me or observations made by myself here, it was hard for me to find out what might be safely said. This pleased them beyond all expectation, and you see what answer it hath produced. In the end of their answer, the secretary hath kept a little too near to their Dutch style. He calls H. H. *my principal*: I should have caused him to change it, if he had let me see it before they had approved and sealed it. With them it signifies no more than *my sender*. It is here a form (which I have heard also in the Low Countries), in the conclusion of an answer to a message, especially public, to pray the messenger to return that answer to his principals; or if it be not said to him, he will say—“I shall report this your

answer to *my principals* ;” that is, to those that sent me.

But if I had seen it in time, the secretary should have been put to the trouble of changing it, because it is a form of speaking not yet in fashion in England.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

London, 4th Aug., 1654.

SIR,—I received both your letters of the 15th of July, and H. H. very well likes your beginnings, and doubts not of your care and vigilancy in your present employment. I perceive you forbear to write many things you hear, because you suppose they come sooner by other hands, and from other places. But if you please to put yourself to that trouble, I desire to have from you all the news you hear ; though I may hear it from other hands, yet yours will come as a confirmation, which is very useful in many cases.

You will, by the enclosed, see the Lord’s goodness to us in Scotland. You shall do well to disperse it as much as may be, and in the language of the country. We are yet come to no agreement with France ; the point of the protestants remains yet in question, and some other things. I hope my two last are arrived with you safe, wherein you will see more of this subject. The parliament

draws near ; the choice is over everywhere. Very great multitudes appeared at the election everywhere ; yet all things carried with great quiet, and very good elections are made, for the most part, in all places. I will send you a list of them if I can get it, as soon as it is printed. I suppose you know the peace is concluded with Portugal, and the ambassador upon his return. We spend much time in the reformation of the law, and I hope H. H. will be as happy in that as he has been in the field. I have not further to trouble you, but rest,

Your assured friend, AD. PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, August 5, 1654.

SIR,—Our last week's letter had some papers enclosed in it which makes us think the time long till we hear that they are come to hand. In it we also made mention of a discourse which we then hoped to send you by the next. But I have been this week variously hindered from finishing it, so that I cannot send it you till the next week. There is no great haste for it, so far as I can perceive by your last letter, dated 14th July, which, after the old rate of three weeks between you and us, came to our hands yesterday.

M. D. is gone from hence to Bern, to treat with the divines there. From thence he intends to go

to Basil, and then to Schaffehausen, before he comes hither again. This journey may perhaps take up a month's time. Before he went, I advised him to write to Monsieur Bisterfeld, a German, a learned man, who is one of the most inward counsel to S. Rakòtsi, Prince of Transylvania, a prince of the reformed religion, as he was also to his father (George Rakòtsi), when he so hampered the enemy in Hungary, anno 1645. I (considering the present state of the house of Austria, and the waking posture in which we hear the Prince of Transylvania to be,) told M. D. that I thought it would be very fit for us to endeavour a correspondence with the said counsellor. We are both known to him by fame, and M. D. had spoken with him many years ago. M. D. assented; and at his going hence left a letter with me to be sent into Transylvania, wherein he gave him an account of his business here, and took occasion to add something of the present state of England. If he answer us, I shall see whether it be not possible to lay the foundation of a correspondence—first, for true reports of action, and, perhaps, afterward for counsels.

M. D. was sent hence to Bern with several letters of recommendation, and the younger of their principal secretaries, with a city officer to accompany him thither; which will give an example to those of Bern to do as much for him, when he goes from thence to Basil, &c. Yesterday I sent him a copy

of that paper which I found enclosed in yours. He may make some use of it to several persons. For aught I hear, Mr. Stockar is not yet gone from Bern. If M. D. find him there, and shew him that paper, he will be well pleased to see honourable mention made of his negociation in England and Holland; and so much the rather, because he will hope it may be subservient to a design of his, which he *told us*, but finds not many of his own countrymen to whom he dares to be so open. He would fain be sent back into England to congratulate his Highness, and give thanks for their inclusion in the treaty of peace, but with secret instructions for a treaty of much greater importance. I confess, for mine own part, I do not perceive the counsels of these parts as yet ripe for such kind of treaties; and yet two or three such emergencies as have lately happened would have some influence upon them to the alteration of some of their counsels.

The foresaid paper I delivered yesterday, in the afternoon, to one of their burgomasters, with a speech, in the end whereof I told him that, if he pleased, he might keep that till I delivered him the original. He replied, that they should give his Highness thanks hereafter, but in the meantime he prayed me to do it for them in my next letters. I believe that he hath to-day read that paper in the council, which may put them to a new trouble to change their gratulatory letters; for I fear they were ready

written. Perhaps they will resolve to put their gratulation and their gratitude all into one letter. And yet they will hardly resolve upon such a thing without sending copies of the said paper to all the cantons, and asking their advice.

When you answer this, and consequently send me the original, I wish you may have so much leisure as to adjoin some instructions, how, if I be asked, I should interpret that *inclusion*—that is, what real assistance, in case of need, they may hope for. But when I remember this will hardly come to your hands before this day three weeks, I fear that it will be so near the beginning of Parliament that you will be too full of greater business.

If there be so little hope of any good effect of the treaty with France, it is the less matter though you be a week older before you know what it was which these desired you to insert into that treaty.

A letter, dated at Amsterdam, 14-24 July, tells us that Mr. Stoupe was come thither, and was gone from thence, having taken with him into England the second son of Monsieur Huldrick, the principal divine of this country, and, as they call him here, their *Antistes*. He hath been a great hinderer of the renewing the league. I hear the young man is a good chirurgeon, and, besides high and low Dutch, speaks and writes Latin, French, and Italian very well, and would be glad to find such a service in England as his friends might like. It is likely Sir

Oliver Fleming* will make mention of him ; and I do not fear that he shall find ever the worse entertainment, because he hath this little recommendation from your most humble servant,

J. P.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

August 19, 1654.

SIR,—I omitted to write by the last, having nothing worth the trouble either to myself or you, and I have very little to tell you now, more than that I have received yours the last week, but the post is not yet come this week, so that I cannot give you any answer to anything you have written by the letters we are expecting. Our affairs, blessed be God, go well in Scotland. We are in pursuit of Middleton as far as Caithness, and hope to unkennel them all before winter. We can yet make no accord with France, nor are we scarce so near it as when we began. The ambassador will not hear of anything to be done for the protestants, whose interests, I hope, we value here. Care hath been taken here for your money, and the fault is in your agents if you have not the fruit of it. I rest,

Your assured friend, AD. PETERS.

* Sir Oliver Fleming was master of the ceremonies to the Protector.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 19, 1654.

SIR,—I hope you have received the sheet I sent last week. In the cover of it I said I had received no letter from you that week. This week I have received one from you, dated July 28, which answers mine of July 8; so that it seems your answer to mine of July the 1st should have come hither the last week, but hath somewhere lost its way (like yours of June the 2nd, that was fifty days old ere I received it.) I shall desire M. D., when he comes to Basil, to make inquiry after yours of July 21. It may be he will find it there; but, for fear it should never be found, I have here sent a copy of a paper which was in mine of July 1, to which I desire to know what you answered in this letter which I now speak of as lost.

I hear that Mr. Stoupe is come safe to London. I hope he hath delivered the three letters which M. D. and I sent by him, dated June 2.

I have told the principal secretary here what you write concerning an article to be inserted for them in the treaty with France. He says he will acquaint the *Proceres* with it; and that the four principal protestant cantons are to send deputies about some other business to Baden, September 5, and then they may consider in what form of words such an article is to be penned. Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

August 25, 1654.

SIR,—I have this week received two letters from you, no post at all coming the week before. In the former I had the papers containing your speeches, and the answers given to them. H. H. likes your transactions very well, and finds the returns you have very kind and affectionate, which may possibly be improved, the opportunities whereof you will attend, according as you are instructed. I would be glad to see the discourse you both mention in your letters, and that they would put the desire they made by word of mouth, into writing; they will find the Protector very ready to consider their interests in any of his treaties.

We can come yet to no agreement with France; and it is very probable that after the great success they have had against the Spaniards before Arras,* beating the whole army in their trenches, they will slight all their neighbours: but we are not usually moved with such things. The treaty hath stood still some time. We are now considering with our ambassador about a cessation of all hostilities, as the way to a closer peace, the terms whereof we cannot yet agree.

Morgan is gone so far after Middleton that we

* The battle before Arras was fought on the 18th of August.

seldom hear from him. We hope that our next news will be that Middleton is quite gone out of Scotland, for our army is forced to burn all the highlands, leaving neither houses nor barn standing.

I perceive Mr. Dury is gone from you about his business. I wish him success; and I pray remember me to him when you meet. We are now expecting and preparing for our parliament, which meets the next Lord's-day se'nnight, so at this time I can add no more, but that I am,

Your very affectionate friend, A. PETERS.

I suppose you have heard that several great differences between the English and Dutch merchants were referred to arbitrators, and in case of non-agreement to the protestant cantons. The arbitrators will not agree, so that this will come to the umpire. You shall do well to confer about this business with some of ours you most trust, and prepare them so far that you may get the cantons to receive those who are our friends, when the business shall come represented to them by both states.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 26, 1654.

SIR,—By yours of August 4, (which I received yesterday), I understand that ours of July 15th are come to your hands, and are well liked by H. H. The two printed letters out of Scotland, which you

sent inclosed, I caused presently to be translated into high Dutch, and have sent them to the burgo-master and others to read. I have not yet received yours of July 21, in answer to mine of July the 1st, but I shall use all possible endeavours to find it out.

In my last (dated August 19) I told you what the principal secretary had said here concerning the article to be inserted, &c. But I have received from a leading man among the Grisons these heads of the desires of the protestants there. They conceive H. H. mighty enough by treaty to obtain all these articles to be granted by the Spaniard. I know not well what to say to them, because your letters did never let me know the state of our treaty with Spain. These things were touched before in our letter of July 29, and mine August 12; but, as I then wrote, their friends here scarce dare hope that H. H. will be able to obtain a grant of the first.

Whilst I was writing this, I was called from it to speak with one of the common council, sent from the chamberlain of this city, or rather the treasurer of the whole canton, to shew me the pictures of all the jewels mentioned in mine of July 1 and July 8, telling me he will find a time to shew me the jewels themselves, as being in his keeping. There are two great rubies; the rest are* single diamonds, or jewels

* "Two pearls, one single diamond, and four jewels," &c. Among Pell's Papers are drawings of these jewels.

made up of many diamonds fairly cut and set. I asked him upon what condition those jewels were put into the Swiss colonel's hands. He said upon condition to sell them, or alienate them any other way, in case the French King did not redeem them in such a time, which time is expired a good while ago. I asked for what sum they were mortgaged to them. He said, for six hundred thousand livres, as he remembered, that is, about three score thousand pounds sterling. I did not ask him why he sent to me, because I know that they want a chapman for them, and would be glad to sell them, that they might have the money to distribute amongst the officers that want it. It is suspected by many that the French did it of purpose to set them together by the ears, about the selling them and dividing the money, for they believe that France could easily have found such a sum of money, and paid every officer of the Switzers according to their claims in France. Whether it were a French design or no, I know not, but sure I am it was like to have come to some such issue whilst they knew not where the jewels were; but now the captains that had them in their keeping are returned, and it is commonly known who hath them, men are more quiet; but I perceive they could wish, in their hearts, to offer them to me. To one that was sounding me to that purpose a pretty while ago, I answered that I had not heard that H. H. had yet bought many

jewels. They hoped that the King of the Romans would have bought them for a present to his bride, and two captains were gone to Vienna to offer them to him, but his burial needed no such ornaments to be new bought on purpose for it.

Now some write that Charles, the Emperor's third son, is fallen sick ; that the Hungarians will crown Leopoldus Ignatius, the second son ; that the emperor is in good health, but the pope is dangerously sick, having been much troubled with the affairs of Portugal, whom he cannot gratify without losing the King of Spain ; and yet the ambassadors of France and Portugal have almost, by importunities, brought the consistory to resolve to satisfy Portugal in the business of vacant churches. They have a wolf by the ears, whom they neither dare hold nor let go. In the meantime, Genoa knows not what to hope or fear. Their messenger is not returned out of Spain. The preparations against them in Milan are diverted by the French, who have begun with them already in Piedmont ; yet the Genoese fear that the Indian fleet, lately arrived at Cadiz, will make the Spaniard the more inflexible. They do not like his fortifying of Final ; but they will be glad to hear of his ill success at Arras.

Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

September 2, 1654.

SIR,—The last week I answered yours of Aug. 4. Yesterday I hoped to receive a letter from you, dated Aug. 11, in answer to mine of July 22; but the post brought me no letter. M. D. is at Basil by this time, if he hold the resolution which he expressed to me in his last letter from Bern. When I hear that he is there, I shall send him the copy of a French letter which came to my hands to-day; the greatest part whereof I have thought fit to translate and send you here:—

Orleans, August 20, old style.

By your last, I have understood that M. D. is gone from Zurich, to continue his conference with other churches, about the accommodation, &c. God bless his good intentions with a happy success. Monsieur Mestrezat (minister), of Paris, but born at Geneva, hath been in this city these two days. I came just now from him. In our discourse, I gave him occasion to speak of Mr. Dury's design. He approved it very much, and said that our churches (in France) and that of Geneva shall do well to assist M. D. with their good counsels and advice; but that he would not encourage him to come into France to treat with the reformed churches there, because he would be personally suspected at court, the cardinal having already conceived an ill suspicion, when Mr. Stoupe (with good zeal, but little policy,) had been in some parts of the kingdom to assure the reformed churches of the good will of the Commonwealth of England, and had held some conference with Monsieur de Montbrun.

He said, that as for them, they should be able to do nothing in Mr. Dury's good work but accompany it with their good wishes and prayers.

He spoke much of Dr. Calixtus, a man entertained by the Duke of Brunswick, who hath written much (though he be a Lutheran) against the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body. He said that there are many other Lutheran states that are peaceable enough ; but that there are others, who by their little charity give sufficient proof that they are no members of the mystical body of Christ. "As for us," said he, "we are ready to entertain and cherish a good amity and concord with all those that are touched with the spirit of peace and charity."

He also told me that he had not long since written a letter to the Princess of Wirtemberg (a French lady of the house of Chastillon) to strengthen her against the instigations made (contrary to her contract of marriage) to change her profession (of Huguenot.) Some are not contented that she communicates with the Lutherans, because she keeps firm in her (Calvinistical) opinions, in the points controverted between them and us. "That letter," said he, "hath made a great deal of noise, but it hath done some good," &c.

I doubt not but you have heard of the good success of the French at Arras, against the Spaniards, who have there gotten such a brush that we think it will be long ere they be in good posture again.

Cardinal de Retz, upon his escaping out of the castle, is declared criminal by the king, and all his kindred are commanded out of Paris. The canons of Notre Dame, in Paris, are in disgrace for singing "Te Deum," when they heard of that Cardinal's escape.

Thus far that letter from Orleans.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

September 9, 1654.

SIR,—I wrote somewhat largely by the last post—that is to say, September 2. The next day, one of the

secretaries here told me, that the Dutch translation of the two letters out of Scotland had been read in their Council of Fifty—that they had commanded him to give me thanks for that communication, and to pray me to signify to H. H. their joy for the continuance of his good success in his affairs of war—that their prayers shall be that H. H. may be no less fortunate in the managing of civil affairs, and all the consultations of this parliament. I told him their good wishes were very seasonable, for as that moment when he spoke was, for aught I knew, the beginning of the parliament's first meeting at a sermon.

On Monday, September 4th, I saw the jewels, mentioned in my letters of July 1 and 8, and that of August 26. He that hath them in his keeping hath been, and is, the principal opposer of them that would renew the league with France. He was also the first and the greatest urger of the protestant cantons to offer their mediation between the English and the Low Dutch. He told me that those jewels were delivered in the French court to the officers of the Switzers. Some officers of every canton have a right to some share in them. Most of the officers were then cashiered and sent home. The French say, that those jewels were worth much more than the debt the Swiss officers then claimed—that was, six hundred thousand livres—but that they were forced to give them so many jewels, because

the Switzers would not be contented with fewer, as not believing that they were worth so much money as the French valued them at. Wherefore those cashiered officers have often called upon the French ambassador to redeem them. He always answered them, that if they would renew the league, he would presently receive the jewels, and pay them the said six hundred thousand livres, with interest for four years, due at the end of this year. But the treasurer that hath them in his keeping—being, as I said before, an utter enemy to the league—hath always hindered that resolution. The captains that were at Vienna say, that the Emperor, having the pictures of them, offered to buy some of them, but was not willing to buy them all. The officers here begin to be impatient, having need of their money.

The treasurer would fain prevent their falling out, and yet sees it hard to be done without procuring of money. He told me—but desired that it might be kept secret both here and in England—that I should oblige him very much if I would signify these things to his Highness; adding that he believed that the French ambassador would make haste to pay them that money, if he heard for certain that my Lord Protector had given me order to lay down money for them, either by way of buying them outright, or taking them as a caution or pawn, to be redeemed by France within a year, otherwise to be accounted irrevocably sold. I told

him that I would not give him any encouragement to hope that my Lord Protector would meddle with any such bargain ; but the high account that I had made of his friendship should prevail so far with me as to promise him to write into England, at large, concerning that business. He seemed very confident that his Highness would, at least, give me leave to enter into a fame of treating for them ; which fame he thought would be enough to make the French ambassador redeem them. But I replied that this fame might seem to engage H. H. to do it indeed, and so to disburse so much money—about seventy-two thousand pounds sterling—which I doubted H. H. would not be put upon. He answered that if H. H. should indeed disburse so much money, he could not be a loser, because the jewels were worth more. I replied that there might be at this present in England better uses for money than to buy jewels withal. He answered that it would be a good use of money, to lay it out for that which was more worth ; and yet, at the same time, to oblige the whole Helvetian nation, as well papists as protestants, who would all be much taken with such a motion out of England ; seeing it might be represented to them as an effect of my Lord Protector's desire to prevent a civil war, which might arise amongst them about the sale of them, or about the renewing of the league, that so the jewels may be redeemed by the French ambassador.

When I said, that unquiet spirits might as easily fall out about sharing the money, as about selling the jewels, it was answered, that all the pretenders had promised to stand to the arbitrement of Zurich for distribution of it. Perceiving his great desire to have me write concerning this business, I promised to do it, though I thought that nothing would be done in it. He said that he would endeavour to get the true pictures of all the jewels against the next post, that I might send them in a letter. I had almost forgotten to tell you, that all these jewels belong to the soldiery; so that if they had any money for them, yet this were nothing towards the repayment of all that money which the French owe to the public treasuries of the cantons, upon *three* accounts—namely, money lent to Henry IV., the king's grandfather; 2, peace money; and 3, league money.

I beseech you not to forget to send me an answer of this letter, and a declaration of his Highness's pleasure, how I shall behave myself in it. Whatsoever the answer be, I must have a care to deliver it so here as that I may not disoblige so true a friend to the interest of England as he hath been, and is likely to continue. Both he and I desire that this may be carried with all secrecy, that if it be possible none but his Highness may know that such a motion was made from hence. It may be Spain would be forward to buy these jewels,

if it were but to affront the French,—especially seeing wearing of jewels is much more in fashion in Spain than in England. But as yet, nobody hath named Spain to me, nor have I named it to any body else in this business.

On Wednesday last, the younger Burgomaster went hence to Baden. Before he went, I spoke with him about the memorial which he had formerly promised. He said he had bidden the principal secretary draw it up before he went out of town. “But,” said he, “when I came home again, I found he had not done it, but excused it by saying that it is fit we should consult about it at Baden; and that we shall do. I shall also bring you from thence a large declaration of the interests of the Grisons, not that we think it reasonable to hope that the Lord Protector can obtain it all for them, but for information’s sake.” I answered, “it is likely that ours, that treat with France, would think it fit to have also some kind of information what interests and concernments they meant, in that short article which you formerly named to me to be inserted for the protestant cantons.” “Our concernments,” said he, “in respect of France, are easily understood and remembered. They are these two: that they pay us what they owe us; and that they do not make us pay them what we ought not to pay, as tolls, imposts,” &c. It is said, that the principal cause of

their going to Baden at this time is, to meet there some Austrian deputies, to treat about money due from the Austrians to the Cantons.

I here send you a copy of a letter written two days ago to Mr. Secretary. The duke therein mentioned is a Lutheran. He is lord of the greatest part of Suevia. His ordinary residence is at Stutgard, so that of the German princes he is one of the nearest to this place. Almost as soon as we came to this town, they told M. D. of him, because (of his own accord, I know not how long ago,) to all the preachers in his country, and the divinity professors in his University of Tubing, he sent a straight charge to leave railing at the Calvinists, &c. And therefore it is not unlikely that when M. D. begins to treat with the princes of Germany, he must begin with this duke. I hope H. H. will make no difficulty of granting the licence mentioned in the said letter ; and I persuade myself, that Mr. Secretary will think it convenient to gratify such a prince in a business of this nature, and thereby to support the reputation of the English agent here, who hath openly professed a very willing readiness to serve the said duke, or any other protestant prince of Germany, in affairs of greater importance than that is, if they be in his power.

M. D. came to Basil, September 1. He hath seen the letter from Orleans, mentioned in my last.

Yesterday I received yours of August 19, by which

I understood that you had mine of July 22, but that the post was not then come with our letters of July 29, which we much desired might not miscarry.

Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Sept. 16, 1654.

SIR,—I received one of yours, dated August 25, which assured me that ours of July 29, and mine of August 5, were come to your hands. In that of August 5, I gave notice that I had received yours of July 14, with the *copy* of the form of including the protestant cantons into the peace made between the States. You then wrote that you would send me the *original*, when you heard that the copy was safely arrived; which I also signified to those here, to whom I communicated that copy. But this last letter of yours assures me that you know I have the copy, and yet you sent not the *original*. If you did only forget it, I shall hope to receive it in your next week's letter; else, I shall think that, it may be, some later consideration hath changed the former resolution of sending it to me. The same copy was sent by Her van Beverningk to Mr. Stockar; but I think they expect to receive the *original* from my hand.

The burgomaster's discourse, mentioned in both

these letters of ours, I sent in the next ; that is, in that which bears date August 12. I hope you received it in its due time.

J. P.

If England come to a cessation with France, it will much startle the Austrian-Spanish faction here, which, among the papists of these parts, is near as strong as the French faction.

I am sorry that the commissioners cannot end those merchants' differences. Neutrals laugh at both republics, and ask, who ever thought such inlanders as the Switzers fit to judge of sea-quarrels ? But I shall endeavour to do my part, as far as I can, with such defective instructions. I do not yet know when, or where, you would have the deputies of those cantons sit, and hear your claims, reasons, &c. I make no question but your following letters will tell me that, and much more. Mr. Hartlib sent me the articles of your treaty in French long since ; but I have them not yet in Latin.

I wrote largely by the last post, that is to say, September 9, concerning jewels, and a licence for horses, &c.

I was glad, by your last, to understand that H. H. liked the courses that had been taken by his servants here. I shall hope your continued acceptance of my endeavours to be accounted a careful and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—The last week I received none from you, but I wrote to you. My letter was dated Sept. 23, and had in it one for Sir Oliver Fl. [eming], and a parchment, with some pictures of jewels. I hope the weight of the letter did not entice some man's curiosity to open the letter and keep it from you.

I have since thought, that if those pictures ever come to your hand, there might some use be made of them, without any damage to the treaty with France, though it should be in as great forwardness as some here believe it to be. For if the French ambassador, coming at some time to H. H., did see those pictures, and either of himself, or by some other's information, were assured that those jewels did once belong to the Queen of France, I cannot see any inconvenience that would arise if H. H. should say to the ambassador, "Would the king or queen be displeased if my agent in Switzerland should lay down ready money for them?" Such a question would make the ambassador write home concerning them; whereupon, perhaps, would follow a sudden resolution there, to command the French ambassador in those countries to redeem them; and so H. H. might lay a great obligation upon this people, only by asking one question, which should not at all engage him to do any such thing, or to command me to do it. But if H. H. think not fit to make so

much use of those pictures, they may, at least, serve to adorn some little piece of wall (as being none of the worst pieces that ever was seen, though perhaps it may be somewhat marred in the carriage), besides the historical use, that such were the jewels which were pawned to, &c.

Sept. 24.—The principal secretary, accompanied with his substitute, came to me, and told me, that he had order from the secret council to give me notice, that they had written to some of their confederates concerning that memorial, which I had so long expected of them, of articles to be inserted for them into our treaty with France. That, that very day they had received an answer from some of them, whereby they understood that they had laid aside their resolution of joining with them in desiring H. H. to urge satisfaction to their claims. That this alteration was newly come upon them, by reason of some confirmation lately sent out of France, assuring them that, ere long, they should be satisfied. And, said the secretary, to deal a little more openly with you, I will shew you the cardinal's own letter to our canton, which agrees with that which he has written to the other cantons. I took it and read it over. It was written in French, and subscribed by Cardinal Mazarin himself; dated Sept. 22 (that is, Sept. 12, *stylo veteri*). The sum of it was, that the multitude of necessary affairs had all this while hindered him from answering their letter of July 8-18.

But he assured them that he should have a care of the general interest of all the cantons, and of every canton in particular, &c.

I delivered the letter again to the secretary, and told him, that I should be very glad to hear that these good words were followed with deeds according. That their letter of July 8-18, was excellently penned, if that alone had produced such a change in the resolutions of the court of France. But I was apt to believe that England had contributed somewhat to that change, both by making some favourable mention of Switzerland to the French ambassador at London, and by maintaining an agent at Zurich, whose bare presence was sufficient to amuse the French, and to make them incline, at least, to promise satisfaction to the just demands of the Switzers. That if H. H. did conceive that his agent's abiding in this country were any way to their damage, he would command him to take his leave of them, and to make haste thence. That some were of opinion, that H. H. had been no small cause of those signs of favour lately expressed by the court of France towards the protestants of Languedoc, &c. That, for mine own part, I should be very glad to see the performance of the cardinal's promise, and to write into England that incredible news, that France had satisfied the Switzers in all their claims and pretensions. That, though they thought not fit to give me any thing farther in

writing, yet I should not fail to mind their interests, and to represent them to H. H., as far as I was able to understand them.

He replied, that though they could not agree in the drawing of a memorial for me, in the business of demanding *satisfaction* from the French, yet he hoped that they should shortly send me one for the matter of *religion*. That, in the meantime, he was commanded to pray me to signify in my next letters their longing desire to hear that England had done somewhat considerable in the behalf of Bremen. I promised him I would. Whereupon he took his leave of me, being to go into the country, to begin his vintage, &c.

Sept. 28.—The younger of the principal secretaries came to me and told me, that his superior had called to mind that the rain had once put them beside their intention of entertaining M. D. and me upon their lake; that the weather seemed now to promise more constancy, and that therefore they had resolved, the next day, about ten o'clock, to come to my lodging, to desire me to spend a piece of a day with them. The next day (that was Sept. 29, but no holiday in this country), at the hour appointed, there came to my lodging eight of them, whereof one was a burgomaster, and took me along with them into their barge. We had a large dinner, and then rowed up the lake, that I might see the country. We spent that afternoon upon the water,

save that we once went out to view a large vineyard, belonging to one of them. It was dark ere we got into the city. They all brought me to my lodging, &c.

I have received no letter from you this week, nor the week last past. The last I had from you was dated Aug. 25. Some of the merchants of this town, within a day or two, will be returned from Frankfort mart. It may be my Frankfort merchant has given your letters to one of them for me.

Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

October 7.

SIR,—I have received no letter from you these three weeks. I have not failed to write to you every week. Having this week received information from U. 83, concerning my Lord Protector's speech in the painted chamber, Sept. 12, I caused it to be sent to several persons in High Dutch, to dash the false news, written from Cologne, of violence and disorder then used.*

* Of this proceeding—the exclusion of the members of Cromwell's second parliament from their place of meeting, until they had signed a bond of allegiance to him—some account is given in the Introduction. The speech referred to, as explanatory of that measure, was as follows:—

“ I told you you were a *free* parliament ; and so you are,

Whensoever your affairs of greater consequence will not afford you leisure to write to me, be pleased only to send a note to U. 83, in one line to this purpose :—(Let M. P. know that I have received a letter from him, dated Sept. 30.) This would be some satisfaction to me, assuring me that they did not miscarry.

This week almost every man here is busy about the vintage. From Rome, they write that the Cardinals Medici and Antonio, having received commission to treat concerning the composure of the

whilst you own the government and authority that called you hither; for that word implied a reciprocation, or it implied nothing at all. The same government that made you a parliament made me protector; and as you were intrusted with some things, so was I with all other things. There were some things in the government fundamental, and that cannot be altered; namely, that the government should be in one person and a parliament, &c., and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable; but I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office, which I have not been apt to do.

“ I had this thought within myself, that it had not been dishonest, nor dishonourable, nor against true liberty, no, not of parliaments, when a parliament was so chose,—that *an owning of your call*, and of the authority bringing you hither, might have been required before your entrance into the house; but this was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could reasonably doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe, the people that sent you least doubted thereof at all; and therefore I must plainly deal with you. What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you will necessitate me unto now, that, seeing the authority that called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, till some assurance

affairs of France and Spain, have begun their meeting. That the pope's indisposition hardly gives him leave to think of any thing, save the settling of the family of the Pamphili. That the Spaniards have already named six cardinals, one of whom they will have pope.

That there are twelve other cardinals, which already profess their hopes of the triple crown.

That posts are sent to all the absent cardinals, to signify the little hope of the pope's life.

Your humble servant.

be given and made known that the fundamental interest of the government be settled and approved, *I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the parliament house.*

"I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this—but there *is* cause; and if things be not satisfied that are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, shall do that which becomes me, seeking my counsel from God. There is, therefore, somewhat to be offered to you: the making your minds known in that, by your giving your assent and subscription to it, is that which will let you in to act those things as a parliament which are for the good of the people. And this thing shewed to you, and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy, and may give a happy progress and issue to this parliament. The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the lobby without the parliament door."

The bond which the members were obliged to sign was this:—"I do hereby freely promise and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and shall not (according to the tenour of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one person and a parliament."

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

October 14.

SIR,—All books that are printed in this city are first overseen by *censores* appointed by the supreme magistrate. The last week I gave them occasion to take notice that the news from Cologne concerning England is often false. This week, therefore, they sent me word, that, if I desired it, henceforth the printer of news should leave out all that was written from Cologne concerning England. I answered, that though they might do well so to do, yet some would dislike such omissions, till I, or some other, had taken a course that they might every week receive truer intelligence by London letters.

They also sent me a French sermon upon Jerem. x. 2, preached at Saumur, by Monsieur Amyraut, and printed there about the end of July, this year. One of this city had translated it into high Dutch, and desired to print it; but, in the reading it over, the *censores* had found divers passages, wherein he speaks scurvily and spitefully concerning our changes in England and the present government. One of the *censores* would have the book forbidden; the translator himself cancelled all that concerns England, and desired that all the rest might be printed. Yesterday, another of the *censores* came to me to see what I would desire or advise. I told him that after those passages were put out, I, as an Englishman, might be content to let the rest pass;

but I advised them to consider whether many of the French Huguenots would not take it ill that anything of Amyraut's should be printed here, since his name is odious to many of them. He answered, that the translator was contented that both the name of Amyraut and of this town should be left out, but was loath to lose his whole labour, and yet more loath to displease me. I told him that it should not displease me to see it printed with those omissions, but when I spake with the translator himself, I would make him understand that Monsieur Amyraut had spoken some things very unskillfully concerning eclipses, though the principal occasion of that sermon were the sun's eclipse shortly to follow.*

* An eclipse, which had been prognosticated to fall on the second of August, and which seems to have much disappointed people's expectations. "Tuesday, August 1.—All the discourse this day was concerning the great eclipse that should be on the day following, which was so little, as if it were rather an eclipse of the knowledge or judgment of the astrologers than of the sun."—*The Weekly Intelligence*, No. 145. At this period the superstitious belief in the influence of eclipses on mundane affairs was by no means extinct among the body of the people. It may be added, this Amyraut was a protestant, and professor of theology in the university of Saumur, and one of several learned men on the continent who were desirous of opening a friendly correspondence with our patriarch of nonconformity, Richard Banks, subsequent to 1660. Banks tells us in his *Life*, that he was obliged to decline the honour, as his letters would have exposed him to trouble, had they fallen into the hands of the government, however innocent their contents.

From Florence, September 17-27.—We are again in great jealousy of the English fleet. The great Duke (of Tuscany) has sent thirty-six mortars of artillery, and 200 German soldiers, from Leghorn to Porto-Ferraio, to strengthen that garrison.

From Vienna, September 18-28.—The death of the King of the Romans still keeps many faces sad in this court. The Emperor seems to bear it better than any. He endeavours to bring his second son into credit—a lively, hopeful prince, about fourteen years old. His mother was the Infanta of Spain. They intend to crown him King of Hungary first: to that end the Diet is put off, that some discontented persons may first be appeased. The papists, and especially the prelates, have been rigorous and troublesome to the protestants all over Hungary; but here, in Austria, the persecution is suspended now, for fear of further provoking our patience. Many of our nobility and gentry have suffered much with great constancy. The Jesuits know that they can set on foot the persecution again when they see their time.

Count Wolmar is gone hence to sit at Frankfort for the Emperor; but he has order to see the electors and princes by the way, to incline them to favour the new election, &c.

Cologne, October 1-11.—Two days ago, in the evening, came hither the Princess Royal of Orange, with her eldest brother the King. This train consisted of 150 persons. She returns shortly into the Low Countries, but how long *he* intends to stay here no man knows. Our magistrates entertained them with compliments and with a present of wine.

The Holland ambassadors write from London that the peace between England and France is agreed upon; but the French ambassador at the Hague affirms the quite contrary.

From Paris, October the 6th, st. n.—Letters out of Brittany tell us that General Blake sent two of his ships of war to Belle-Isle; where, with their ordnance, they gave the usual sign of friendship, and signified their desire to speak with the Dukes of Retz and Brissac, and to offer them their service against the Marshal Meilleraye, who was said to be appointed to besiege them. The dukes, after consultation, refused their offers of men and money, fearing to irritate the king against

themselves. But they go on to fortify the said Isle, intending to stand upon their defence, having two thousand good soldiers with them.

HONOURABLE SIR,—When I had written this inclosed, I remembered that I had had no letter from Mr. A. P. these four weeks ; so that I was not assured that any of mine, written since Aug. 5, were come to his hands. I therefore began to imagine that perhaps somebody intercepted my letters, if sent to him without some other covert, as hitherto they have gone between Frankfort and London. Wherefore I resolved to send this to U 83 ;* but because, for aught I know, Mr. A. P. is unknown to him, I have covered mine with this, in hope that so it may come safely to him, and that he will take a course that I may have an answer and a new supply of money, for though a warrant be signed before this come to him, yet it is long before it be paid first there and then here.

I did not receive my last quarter's money till yesterday.

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 24th Oct., 1654.

SIR,—I have this day received your letter of the 7th instant, as I have likewise done all your former letters weekly. That I have not given answers to them, I suppose you will have understood the reasons

* A cipher.

thereof before this comes to your hands. It pleased God that I received a hurt in my leg at the same time when his highness received his hurt by his coach, which was this day month;* since which time I have kept my chamber, and been under so much disposition of body, that I have not been able to write unto you. I bless God his highness is perfectly recovered, and I hope I am in good way thereunto, though for the present I continue very lame.

For your letter, which concerneth the French jewels, I cannot for the reason aforesaid give you a particular answer hereunto, having had no opportunity to communicate with H. H. or the counsel

* The following account of this accident will be found in the Thurloe Papers:—"His highness, accompanied only by the secretary, and a few of his gentlemen and servants, went to take the air in Hyde Park, where he caused a few dishes of meat to be brought, and made his dinner: after dinner the thought took him to drive his own coach, to which there were harnessed six fine horses, that had been sent him as a present by the Count of Oldenburgh. He accordingly put Thurloe in the coach, and himself mounted the box. For some time he drove very well, but by and by, using the whip a little too violently, the horses set off at full speed. The postillion, endeavouring to hold them in, was thrown; and soon after, Cromwell himself was precipitated from the box, and fell upon the pole, and from thence to the ground. His foot got entangled with the harness, and he was so carried along a good way, during which a pistol went off in his pocket. At length his foot got clear, and he escaped, the coach passing along without injuring him." Withers, the poet, printed a congratulatory poem on the Protector's escape.

concerning the same, but may expect it by the next, as also answers to what else is contained in your former letters. I have likewise received a letter from Mr. Dury, from Bazil, of the 10th instant, with the Synodical Declaration in print, and am very glad to find that his endeavours are so hopeful for reconciling persons of the same profession. I hope things here will also give him further advantages to that end.

The Parliament is now upon the consideration of matters of religion. A committee of the whole house hath sat some days thereupon, and have agreed of fourteen articles as a confession of faith, which are in substance the same which were agreed by the assembly of divines, and presented to the king at the Isle of Wight. These contain the fundamentals of religion preserved here, and are such as I believe all the reformed clergy do agree in. I suppose Mr. Dury is well acquainted with those articles ; however, I shall endeavour to send a copy of them by the next, conceiving it will be of use to have them communicated. And I pray let Mr. Dury be acquainted with what I write, having not time and strength, now in particular, to write unto him. The Parliament proceeds upon other things but slowly, yet calmly ; they have voted the most material things in the government, as that the government be continued in one single person and a Parliament ; that the style of a single person be a

Protector; that his highness be the person. The militia, likewise, is settled as in the government, &c., so that we have hopes of bringing matters to good issue. The Parliament is very full, and I believe there is not above thirty persons in the whole four hundred and sixty that have refused to sign the recognition.* Our French Treaty is not yet concluded. We have made several essays, both for a strict amity and also for a treaty of commerce. Now we are considering how to come to a cessation of hostility, that for the minds being composed thereby, we may come to a closer union, and it is more than probable that we shall agree in this, there being not much difference between us. I have nothing further to trouble you with, but remain

Your assured friend to serve you, J. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

October 28th.

From Milan.—There is no question but the fleet of Toulon intends to visit some part of the kingdom of Naples. Some think they mean to land in Otranto, others think Abruzzo is more likely to be intended by them. There are at least six thousand soldiers in the fleet, and great store of gentlemen, to accompany the Duke of Guise, who surely has some terrible design, being so well stored with musicians and comedians.

From Genoa.—The Duke of Guise has met with a tempest at sea. He passed by Sardinia; and therefore it is thought it must needs be the kingdom of Naples that he aims at.

* The bond of agreement referred to in p. 64.

From Cologne.—In the fleet of Toulon were four thousand saddles, and as many pair of pistols.

From Heidelberg.—They say here that the King of Sweden has written to the Queen Christina, that if she continues to shew such partiality that he shall stop her pensions in Sweden, and prohibit those of Pomerania to obey or accommodate her.* Yet she persists to shew herself much more Spanish than French, having, since the last brush at Arras, offered the Archduke three millions, in money and jewels, towards the recruiting of him. She intends to go into Italy, and not to see France; so great an aversion from the French has Pimentelli been able to imprint in her. I believe it will be hard for her to find the author of these verses :—

Quoy ! Vous quittés sceptre et couronne,
Et descendés d'un si haut throne
Pour vestir chausses et pourpoint ?
Est-ce en philosophe ou en duppe ?

* Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, who came to the crown of Sweden in 1633, in the seventh year of her age, and having made her court the resort of the great minds of Europe, and exercised considerable influence over its affairs, abdicated her throne in 1654 to indulge her passion for learned studies, and the independence of private life. From this time the ex-queen wandered from place to place over Europe, everywhere meddling with the concerns of other countries, after resigning the management of her own. Her conduct, as referred to in the text, illustrates this feature of her character, and was often so little acceptable to the Swedish government as to make it necessary that she should visit her native country more than once in order to secure the continuance of her pension. Her many opposite qualities, exhibiting many of the most vigorous characteristics of the male sex in singular combination with some of the most obvious infirmities of her own, contributed to render her one of the most remarkable persons in her age. Among her eccentricities, subsequent to her abdication, was a determination to cast off her woman's attire.

Chanut,* vous ne l'approuvés point
Si vous ne mettés une juppe.

Of which I have not yet seen any *Dutch* translation ; but some Englishman has taken the liberty to render them thus :—

How, madam ! was't for this you left the crown
Of Swede, and from so high a throne came down
To wear the breeches ? and your bodice change
To play at doublets ? through the world to range,
To fill romances with your errantry ?
Is this philosophy or foolery ?
Monsieur Shanute (although he seem to doat
On all you do and say) can ne'er excuse
These whimsies (mad-dame) and the garb you use,
Till he put on your gown and petticoat.

From Paris.—The Duke of Orleans has written to the king, advising him to make a general peace, and give his people and himself some rest, and to recal the Prince of Conde, being the fourth person in the kingdom, which would be a terror to all the enemies of France.

Hercules de Rohan, Duke of Montbazon, is dead at Touraine, being eighty-seven years old.

Some speak of calling Morus (against whom Mr. Hulton writes so sharply) to be Professor of Divinity at Nismes, but most men say it will ruin that church.

The teachers of universal grace (according to the doctrine of Monsieur Amyraut, of Saumur) grow upon us, and we know not how to hinder them. We fear it will breed a schism among the reformed churches of France.

From Schaff-hausen.—Mynheer de Wit (pensioner of Holland) has written to Mr. Stockar, that the East India Company of England is contented with the decree of the commissioners. So that he hopes that there will be no necessity of

* Monsieur Chanut was the French ambassador in Holland.

troubling the protestant cantons with the other claims, which are of far less value, and more easy to be satisfied.

From Basil, October 18.—Burgomaster Wetstein, and twelve other of the council, with all the ministers of the city, met at a feast for the dismissal of Mr. Dury. The next day, after dinner, Mr. Dury went hence towards Schaff-hausen, accompanied by Dr. Wetstein (the burgomaster's son), who is the youngest of the three professors of divinity in this university.

From Zurich.—One has written from Amsterdam to a person of great quality here, that part of the English fleet is gone towards the Mediterranean sea, but he will not take upon him to foretel the port to which they are bound.

Just this day sevensnight, about nine o'clock at night, at Glaris, they felt a great earthquake. They have had many this year. We have felt none of them in this city.

I have received no letter from you these six weeks.

Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

November 4-14.

From Stockholm, September 27.—Presently after the king's crowning, some zealots here urged him to promise, under his hand, that he would forbid all religious assemblies of papists, Calvinists, and all that are not Lutherans. But his Majesty knows too well how much Sweden prospers by countenancing strangers, whereof the greatest part are members of the reformed churches, so that as long as he lives we hope to be safe and quiet.

From Cologne.—They write hither, from Antwerp, that the Lord Protector, with his principal secretary, intended to take the air in a coach drawn by the six horses which had been sent him by the Count of Oldenburg; but that they had not been long in the coach when the horses took a sudden fright from some unknown cause, and overthrew the coach, whereby the secretary's leg was broke, and the Protector was wounded in the head by a pocket pistol, which in the hurry went off of itself.

General Blake* is gone to sea ; but we cannot learn whither he is bound. Some say the West Indies, others say some haven in France or Italy.

From Naples.—The viceroy has received letters from Spain, commanding him to have an eye upon the pope's sickness, and to have his army in readiness *in omnem eventum*.

A priest is imprisoned for speaking in the pulpit too freely concerning the French fleet. The cardinal archbishop is displeased at it, and has commanded all his clergy to keep silence.

From Florence.—Our Great Duke has received advertisement that General Blake's fleet is designed against him, and that it is well stored with all sorts of materials requisite for the seizing and fortifying a port. Wherefore our Duke makes ready for him. He has already six thousand foot, besides his trained bands, which come to twelve thousand more.

From Bergamo.—The Spaniards have coined some news to quiet the people of Milan. They give out, the Duke of Guise his fleet is dispersed ; that his secretary is run away from him and gone into Spain to discover his whole design, and to name his principal correspondents in Naples.

From Milan.—The 16th-26th of October, the pope would needs go out of Rome to shew himself alive, but his great weakness could not be hidden.

From Orleans.—The chancellor of finance sent for the ministers of Paris, and rattled them in the name of the court, because of that sermon of Mr. Amyraut, concerning the eclipse. He told them that the king was in a treaty with England, and would not endure such invectives to be published against the present government of it. But Monsieur Amyraut is so wilful and self-conceited that our ministers will be forced to disclaim him, and then he may get a considerable reprehension from the

* Blake was sent into the Mediterranean to punish the piratical states of Algiers and Tunis. As he went out with sealed commissions, great apprehensions were raised in Spain and Italy. Clarendon, with his usual inaccuracy, says he set out in the beginning of 1655, after the parliament was dissolved. Blake sailed from Plymouth on the sixth of October, and Penn on the nineteenth of December.

court.* In the meantime the ministers of Paris have given order to Monsieur Daillee to write to London and excuse them, &c.

Sir, these seven weeks no letter is come from you to your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

10th Nov., 1654.

SIR,—I have no letter either from you or Mr. Dury by the two last posts, which makes me fear your letters may be fallen into wrong hands; if you have writ to me, pray consider which way the miscarriage may fall; and if you can, give better directions.

Concerning the jewels you writ to me formerly, there will be now scarce any opportunity to speak with the French ambassador about them, it being very doubtful whether the Protector and France will come to any terms of amity. The ambassador is not yet gone, but pretends he hath commands to return forthwith to give an account of his negotiation. You know what interest it is that the Protector hath espoused, and which is dearer to him than his life and all he hath, and therefore cannot

* The secret of Amyraut's hostility to England may be traced, in great part, to the zeal with which he maintained his "Universal Grace" scheme—a doctrine that would have been more likely to obtain favour in the two houses of convocation than in the Westminster assembly.

consent to put a prejudice upon that by any treaty with a foreign state, and France insisting upon some things bearing very hard upon that interest renders the present treaty deficient, if not hopeless; but more of this hereafter.

The parliament is still in debate upon the articles of the government; they have passed most of the things in the grand committee, and are now upon the report of them in the House, where they have agreed that the legislative authority is and shall reside in the Protector and parliament with such limitations as shall be agreed upon in parliament. There is some variety of opinion as to the negative voice, but that I hope, in time, will be accommodated. The parliament hath likewise approved of the officers which his highness did put into the place before they met, as the commissioner of the Great Seal, the Deputy of Ireland,* &c.

For what concerns religion, I told you, by my last, that they had agreed to the fourteen articles at a grand committee, which were formerly passed by the assembly; they are now upon further considerations as to a confession of faith, and what indulgence is to be given to dissenting brethren in matters not fundamental; and after three whole days' debate thereupon, they referred the consideration of the whole business to a committee of ten, who are to

* The office of Lord Deputy had been conferred on Fleetwood, son-in-law to the Protector.

call to them such divines and other persons as they should think fit, of all judgments, to endeavour an accommodation between them. The committee had likewise authority to attend the Protector in that business, who, through the knowledge and experience he hath in matters of religion, and of several tempers of men, hath been happy in accommodating differences of this nature. The divines the committee have called to them are, Dr. Thomas Goodwyn, Dr. Owen, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Fairclough, Mr. Manton, Mr. Nyl, Mr. Vynes, Mr. Jacombe, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Jessy, and Mr. Dyke;* some of the officers of the army, who are likewise called unto this consultation. They have met yet but twice, at which meeting, the order and method of their proceedings was only the subject of their debate. I heartily wish a blessing upon their endeavours in this business. There are two colonels of the army like to be tried at a court-martial for some miscarriage in the army, endeavouring to disaffect the army to the government,—viz., Okey and Allured;† the army remains entire and of apiece. I desire you to

* Dr. Owen was vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford. He and Goodwin were leading men among the independent clergy. Baxter, and several of the others, were presbyterians.

† Okey and Allured were officers of the army of Scotland, and had been detected in practices of a dangerous character. Both were ordered back to London; Allured was at the time in Scotland.

communicate these things to Mr. Dury, not having leisure to write to you both. Nobody as yet makes any application for either of the allowances ; when they do, you shall be sure to have my assistance. I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

17th November, 1654.

SIR,—After I had closed up my letter of the 10th instant, I received your's of the 14th of October, wherein I do not find much that doth occasion any answer ; for what concerns your money care shall be taken to have it timely paid here, and I hope those you trust with the returning of it to you will be careful to do their parts in time. I do not find, by any of your letters, that you have communicated anything inwardly with the people you are amongst ; it may be, you find it not fit to do it, which is left to your judgment, who are upon the place ; however, I think it very expedient that you endeavour to get the measure of that people's spirit and inclinations in the thing you have in charge, and that you send an account thereof hither as soon as you conveniently may, that so, further resolutions may be taken here for the future management of that business. Things remain here much in the same state they were in at the writing of my last. The parliament

is still upon the consideration of the articles of the government, and have voted that no parliament, for the future, shall be continued above six months without the consent of the Protector, and have settled the militia according to the government,—viz., That it shall be ordered and disposed by the Protector and, parliament sitting, the parliament, and in the recess, of Protector and counsel. These things were the most material which were done in the house this week. The committee for matters of religion have not yet made any great progress herein, nor have the meeting of the officers at St. James's produced much. They are about a petition to his Highness, which as yet they have not presented. In the meantime, all things are in quiet posture with us here, and also in Scotland and Ireland. This week's post is not arrived, so that you must expect no answer to your letters that should have come hereby, until the next. The French ambassador is yet here, but his negotiation is at a stand, and in a doubtful condition as to a further proceeding in it. We are in expectation of an ambassador extraordinary from Spain, and another from Genoa. The Great Duke of Tuscany will likewise send if he were assured of a good reception. I have not wherewith further to trouble you, but rest

Your assured friend,

ADRIAN PETERS.

My Lord Protector's mother,* of ninety-four years old, died the last night, and a little before her death, gave my lord her blessing in these words:—"The Lord cause his face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities, and enable you to do great things for the glory of your most high God, and to be a relief unto his people; my dear son, I leave my heart with thee; a good night."

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

November 18th.

SIR,—Having in eight weeks received no letter from you, I began to fear that it was true, which some reported, that you were irrecoverably hurt, &c. And therefore I cannot express how glad I was at the end of the ninth week, to see yours of October 27, by which I understood that H. H. is in perfect health, and yourself in hopes of recovery. As, also, that the affairs of England, &c., are in a very hopeful posture.

* Cromwell's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of William Steward, Esq., of the city of Ely. It has been often said that we find small trace of Cromwell's intellectual power among his descendants, except in the female branch; and there is a dignity of feeling in the above benediction which may well suggest that the female ancestors of the Protector, as well as his female descendants, were not common persons.

Some of the particulars of your letter I thought fit to communicate, in High Dutch, to some of the chiefest here. It was not hard for me to obey your order in acquainting Mr. Dury with the contents of your letter : for he came hither the day after I had received it. Mr. Stockar and a minister of Schaffhausen accompanied him : they are returned homeward this morning. With dismissing them, and entertaining some well-coming visitants, all his time has been so taken up to-day, that he will hardly be able to write to you by this post ; but by the next he intends to give you an account of his business at Schaffhausen, having already from thence acquainted you with what passed at Basil.

From Rome.—The Spanish ambassador displeased the pope at the last audience, by telling him, that if he let the French horse pass through the lands of the papacy, that the cavalry of Naples would make bold to meet the French and fight upon his ground. The pope answered, that they knew he had not men enough to keep them out. A day or two after, the pope called a council of war. There were present ten cardinals and three commanders ; the consultation is unknown ; but the conclusion was, that the pope must give passage impartially to both French and Spanish, but not trust either of them so much as to leave any place of strength ill guarded.

Cardinal Antonio has taken up forty thousand crowns at the Bank, and one hundred and twenty thousand crowns he has borrowed of the Genoese, to employ for the use of the French fleet. He was buying a huge quantity of corn for the fleet and for Genoa ; but the Cardinal de Medici hindered it, being a professed friend of the Spaniards.

From Lyons.—The Duke of Gloucester* is shortly to profess himself a papist, and to go study in a college of Jesuits, that he may become capable of the great ecclesiastical benefices promised him.

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

November 24, 1654.

SIR,—I received yours by this post, and another from Mr. Dury, of the 31st October, from Shaffhausen, containing a narrative of his whole proceedings at Basil, which truly, in my opinion, are very happy, and will, I hope, be a foundation of bringing his negotiation to some perfection. The letters being but newly come, I had not time to take particular consideration of the answers which were given him to his papers, and therefore shall not write now to him anything concerning that, but only entreat you to signify to him my receipt of his letter, and communicate to him what you receive from me, with my hearty affections to him. I find by your letter, that none of mine have come to your hands in seven weeks before your writing. I was necessitated by sickness to forbear writing to you for some weeks. What occasioned my sickness I suppose you have heard before now, but since it

* Henry, third son of King Charles I. He was at this time only fourteen years old. He died, of the small pox, in 1660.

hath pleased God to recover me in some measure, I have not forborne to write weekly, and I suppose some of my letters are come to your hands before this.

I writ you by my last that the parliament was upon the consideration of the articles of the government; they are still detained upon the same business, and so they will, I believe, for above this month more. The main and fundamental things they have already agreed, in manner, for the substance, as is settled in the government. That which they are now upon is but circumstantial; as whether parliaments shall be biennial or triennial, whether one or five months shall be the time of their sitting, with such like things, wherein, yet, their debates are very long, because their body is so numerous, and many must be heard to speak their opinion. I acquainted you formerly that the parliament had passed the fourteen articles concerning religion. They have now likewise agreed most of the confession of faith, as the last assembly passed it. That which seems to be most difficult in matters of religion is, that forbearance and toleration should be allowed. Some of the chiefest and orthodox divines are called together to consider of this with a committee, but they having yet taken no resolutions thereupon, I shall not trouble you with particulars. I find, by some letters from abroad, that our enemies do give out that there is a great division in the army, and that a great part

of them are dissatisfied with his highness and the government ; but I do assure you that those reports are wholly groundless. It is true, three colonels—viz., Okey, Allured, and Saunders, did frame a petition to be presented to his highness, which was something of an ill nature, but they were disowned in the like by the rest of the officers, and one of them, viz., Allured, doth since beg his pardon ; for the other two, Saunders, promising obedience, remains yet in command ; but Okey is now upon his trial before a court-martial ; and a charge being exhibited here against him, he stands committed to the martial trial, and the court would not bail him, although he did very much insist hereupon, there being no less than between thirty and forty field officers present. So far from the army falling in with humours of such men as these are, there is no question but they will live and die to maintain the government as it is now settled, and possibly they may be too severe upon that point, not being willing to part with any tittle of it. There is a paper goes about in print, called a speech of Col. Shapcot* made in parliament. It is a mere libel, and the parliament have voted it scandalous and trea-

* A speech was printed, purporting to have been made by Col. Shapcot in parliament, on the 30th of October, against giving Cromwell the kingly power, full of bitter reflections on his government. A copy of the tract is preserved among the king's pamphlets in the British Museum.

sonable, and have made out warrants to search for, and apprehend, the author of it.

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

The treaty with France stands still, if it be not broken off; the ambassador hath audience on Tuesday, and pretends then he takes his leave. His highness was very willing to accommodate things with that prince, but cannot for any outward advantage do that which is prejudicial to the protestants, nor forsake their interests. The Lord Bevernigh, one of the Dutch ambassadors, hath got leave of his principals to return home for his private occasions; he took his leave last night of his highness, and intended to begin his journey this morning, so that there remains here only my lord Nieupont.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

25th Nov., 1654.

SIR,—The last week I answered yours, dated Oct. 27th, which gave me hopes to see another from you this week. But, from another hand, I have learned that you were again fallen sick; or, at least, so indisposed, that you would hardly be fit to write. Mr. Dury, after he had been with me just a week, went hence yesterday towards St. Gall, in

hopes to be here again within ten or twelve days. We guess that he will not then stay here above three or four weeks, so that he may be at Geneva about the beginning of January.

Two days ago, here was a grand meeting of their two hundred (their common council), where some shewing themselves forward for renewing the league with France, were overborne by a far greater number of contrary votes. I hope in time to make the greater number understand that they have been long deceived with false news concerning England.

They write from Milan, that the Duke of Guise has landed five thousand footmen, in the bottom of Golfo di Taranta, in the kingdom of Naples (latitude $40\frac{1}{2}$), and that four hundred outlaws are already come to them. Sir, your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

1st December, 1654.

SIR,—The post of this week brought me no letter from you at all. I am afraid there is foul play at Cologne, which, it may be, you may prevent, I know not how. Affairs do not much alter here. I formerly wrote to you of a meeting of the officers had at St. James's, the result whereof is this, and I have accordingly declared it to his highness,—that they will live and die with him, both as their ge-

ral in military matters, and as their protector in civil ; and this they have done unanimously, so that whatever uncertainty and wavering there may be in the minds and counsels of other men, the army is fixed and of a-piece. The same day this resolution was presented to his highness, Colonel Okey submitted himself to his highness' mercy, which he obtained as to his life, but is dismissed of his command. Allured is still under commitment, and his submission for the present refused. These things have much allayed the hopes and expectations of our enemies here, and have rendered them, both within and without doors, unable to do any further mischief than to talk.

The parliament still proceeds on upon the government, and this week hath been spent upon that part of it which concerns the calling of parliaments, wherein they have in most things followed the articles as they were before in the government, only they have been more particular of the qualifications of those who are to be chosen. Whereas the government doth make those that hath served the king incapable for nine years, they have now disabled them for ever. They have likewise voted that no drunkard, adulterer, swearer, common profaner of the sabbath, drinker of healths, nor otherwise profane, shall be capable of being elected. They have also excluded public preachers, all persons that deny the ordinances of the sacrament

and the Lord's supper, blasphemers, and some others of that sort. They have likewise voted some qualifications over to successive protectors, which shall be chosen, as yet he shall be a man of courage, fearing God and hating covetousness, and have, by name, excluded all the children of the late king from ever being chosen protectors, or other chief magistrates of this nation.

We hear nothing yet of our fleet in the Mediterranean, and our other fleet intended for another foreign expedition is not yet gone. I have received nothing from Mr. Dury this week, nor but one from him these four weeks ; when you see or write to him, I pray commend me to him.

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 2.

SIR,—The last week I had none from you, but sent one from M. D. to you, with a piece of news, a little mistaken by one of Milan, who made haste to write it hither before he was thoroughly informed. The landing-place being, indeed, on the western side of Italy, though a little more northward than he wrote, as you will perceive by the diligent account inclosed.

The other I shall not need to commend to your

care; the superscription will sufficiently commend it; only I pray you give me notice of your receipt of it.

This week I had one from you, which reserves something to be said by you hereafter. I have been prayed here to inquire whether H. H. have seen the pictures of the jewels, sent Sept. 23.

I look for M. D. here within these three or four days. I make no question but you have received mine of Oct. 14.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

From Naples, November 7-17, 1654.

On the 2-12th of this month, towards Procida, in the morning, some great ships were discovered, whom the governor of the castle, taking for friends, saluted with his cannon, without bullet. They gave no answer, but increased in number. They were twenty-five before he assured himself that they were French, and enemies. He immediately dispatched a post to Naples. The viceroy in all haste put his old soldiers into the sixteen galleys which were then in the haven, and sent them away *from this side*, under the command of the Marquis of Baccoria, to observe and hinder the enemy's fleet. *On the side of* Bagrioli and Pozzolo (Baide and Patroli) the viceroy sent away artillery and ammunition, with all necessary orders. The galleys followed the French, within cannon shot sometimes, for on the 3-13th, in the evening, they returned hither into the haven, having lost fifteen Spaniards.

The next day, in the morning, we had news that the French fleet was come up to Castello-a-Mare: it lies about twenty (Italian) miles from Naples, and, in a manner, just south from it. The Duke of Guise did that evening summon the commander of the place, offering him good conditions, but threatening to use all rigour if he did not speedily quit it. The com-

mander answered, that he had good cannon, and intended to make use of them as long as he lived. Guise replied, that if he did not render the place at the third discharge of his ordnance he would force him ; and forthwith commanded all the ships to draw nearer to the shore. He had many small vessels (they call them lancers), containing about a hundred men apiece ; with these he landed his men, in several parts of the shore, without any opposition. In the fleet were divers outlaws and fugitives of Naples, which then landed also, and, knowing all the avenues, served for guides to four thousand French soldiers, who, by divers paths on the hill side, made haste toward the town. When they came to attack it they found small resistance, the guards being Calabrians, and without ammunition, save that just at the time of the onset each musqueteer received three bullets and a little powder.

The duke presently entered it with M. Pol, general of the French gabions, attended by one hundred persons in liveries. They went to the cathedral, and then caused " *Te Deum* " to be sung. The duke set guards upon all the nunneries, and proclaimed that he permitted all to leave the town if they pleased ; that every inhabitant should give account of the provision of victuals in his house, and should have a care that nothing were wasted ; that all impositions were taken off ; and God save France and the Duke of Guise.

The next day the soldiers began to pillage the country-houses and lands near the town. They found everywhere great store of wine : the vintage had been plentiful, and they had not yet begun to transport any wine to other places. The duke set them to mend the fortifications, and to fetch cannon out of some of his ships, for in the town he found but six iron guns, and those ill mounted. Many of the French were sick of the voyage, but soon recovered by the good bread and wine that they found there. They carried great store of fresh victuals into the galleys.

This accident falling so unexpectedly upon the Spaniards has much cooled the courage of their public ministers ; but they bestir themselves. They sent some horse, foot, and cannon, towards the tower of Annunciata and the bridge of Scaffati, to

hinder the enemy's coming any nearer that way ; next, they fell to consider what means were to be used, that no assistance might be brought to Castel-a-mare from any other place. Don Carlo della Gaëta was sent for, and arrived here the 5-15th, in the night. They send the Duke of Tursi to Final with six galleys, and money to hire soldiers there.

It is the common report here, that the French have pillaged all the country round about with great violence, not sparing places consecrated, and that they are now on shipboard, ready to be gone ; but many suspect that this report is published out of design, lest the people should wish well to the French, or attempt some new insurrection in the city. The viceroy, with him that is called *the people's choice*, go into all the quarters of the city, and cause all to sign to a declaration that they will voluntarily serve the King of Spain on this occasion. They have also proclaimed, that all those which have borne arms for the King's service are, within six days, under pain of death, to present themselves to the Prince of Sasiano, who is Gen. M. of the field.

Naples suffers already great inconveniences in the markets, for the French, being masters of the sea, take all the barks and little vessels that should bring provision hither. They send out their galleys hence, eight at a time, who discharge, perhaps often, at the French fleet, but to little purpose.

The French are not idle on land. They are now upon the way towards the tower of Annunciata ; and (whilst I am now writing these words) Don Carlo of Cajeta is going thither out of Naples, with some soldiers, to strengthen it. We hear the guns, and some say the French have had the worst. Here were some prisoners brought in ; whereupon the viceroy, with all the gentry of Naples, went to the Carmelite's church to hear " *Te Deum* " sung. But all that were brought hither to be imprisoned upon this occasion were not French. One was a Spaniard, the keeper of the castle Vieta, in Apulia ; another, a capuchin, visitor of his order ; a third was in the habit of a priest, whose picture had been sent them from Rome, from the Spanish ambassador ; also the governor of Castel-a-mare is imprisoned for yielding so soon to the French.

From the same hand, the same day, upon another paper :—

The principal galley of Naples is arrived out of Spain ; they say that they brought Cardinal de Retz from thence, and landed him at Piombino.

The Marquis of Bajone is also arrived, with three other galleys of the same squadron. He brings news that eighteen great ships are coming out of Spain, so that they hope they shall have forces enough to drive out the French. At this present it is said there are about four thousand horse ready ; all the gentry of Naples offer to bring in more. Ammunition is sent hence every way. All the gunners are kept in a readiness to be sent to places that need them. Divers are imprisoned upon suspicion of intelligence with the French. The viceroy has made the Prince of Avellin general of the horse of the whole kingdom of Naples, and has sent him into Spain to get his patent confirmed. Don Vincent Tutta Villa opposes him.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 9.

SIR,—The last week, with news from Naples, &c., I sent you a letter from, etc. to H. H. They expected the original of that inclusion which is therein mentioned, but at length resolved to defer their thanks &c. no longer. Of their spirit and inclinations I shall endeavour, ere long, to give you an account, as you wish me in yours of 17th November, which I received at the usual time. Mr. D. tells me, that he intends also to write to you the next week : he returned hither but yesterday. I

give you thanks for your news, in lieu whereof be pleased to accept these :—

From Naples, November 14-24th.

Upon the 7-17th of this month, near the tower of Annunciata, the Spaniards met with about four hundred Frenchmen, that waded through a river ; they killed one hundred and sixty, and took forty prisoners. Among them were fifteen officers of the Duke of Guise ; as Cesare de gli Oddi, of Perase, a sergeant-major, shot through the shoulder with a musket ; also the Marquis de Poma, of the house of Gonzaga. There were very few Spaniards killed or taken prisoners. I hear of no prisoner of note but the Prince of Castel-aneta ; twenty-seven of the wounded Frenchmen were put into the hospital of Annunciata, the rest were sent to several places. Since which brush the French have attempted nothing, but are shut up in Castel-a-Mare by the Spaniards.

James Homodei, late governor of Castel-a-Mare, is sent prisoner to the castle of Capua, for not doing his duty as he might.

Here is a new pardon proclaimed for all those that will serve in the war, which many prisoners have accepted, and have their liberty.

Yesterday, in the evening, news came hither that the French admiral was beaten in pieces by a tempest, a little way from Castel-a-Mare. Some say that more of them were at the same time utterly spoiled, and that the Spaniards had taken a small vessel that was going to Rome with letters from the Duke of Guise.

From Paris, 20th November.

Many say that the Queen Christina shall shortly come into France, having received full power from the King of Spain to make a general peace.

The Duke of Gloucester is admitted a student in the Jesuits' College of this town. He has three English Jesuits for his directors.

The common report was, that General Blake had a design to attack the Duke of Guise; but the Cardinal Mazarin says openly that he has the Protector's word that he shall do no such thing.

Sir, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 16, 1654.

SIR,—I give you many thanks for divers considerable passages in yours of November 24. I communicated all to M. D., according to your command. Together with these you shall receive large letters from him. He intends to write to you again by the next post. He is now busy to dispatch all that shall be thought requisite to be done before we go hence towards Geneva, toward which place he would be going the next week, so that he may be there about the end of December. Before he goes I hope we shall find time not only to consider how to settle a correspondence, &c., but also to confer his sense of my business with my present opinion of it; and then I shall, without delay, give you an account, according to your order in yours of November 17.

As for the false news which your letters take notice of, Cologne ordinarily publishes such, and Constance, whence, this last week, we had in print a confident report that the parliament at West-

minster was in hourly expectation to be dissolved. The French news told us of Colonel Shapcot's speech, and that divers other colonels were cashiered, and some imprisoned; and if the treaty break off between England and France, I make no question but the letters and gazettes of Paris, Orleans, and Lyons, will outdo Cologne and Constance for false reports of English news. So that your friends and servants here may have somewhat to do to undeceive and disabuse your well-willers of this country. It is already given out, and believed by some here, that the Protector pretends he cannot go on in the treaty with France, because it would intrench upon the interest of French Protestants; but that the true cause is, the French ambassador's stiffness about place, utterly refusing to let the French King's name stand after the Protector's in either of the instruments of the treaty. Yet, I see, they write from Paris that their King will use all possible means to prevent a complete breach with England, as being unwilling to meet with so great a diversion from his hopeful designs against the Spaniards.

Of their success in Italy reports are various; but from Naples a careful hand writes thus:—

On Tuesday night (he means November 14-24) all the bells were rung here, and the streets were full of men and women crying "God save the King of Spain!" Their joy was caused by the news that the French had quitted Castel-a-mare, and were gone to sea, taking with them the body of M. Plessis

Bellievre, lieutenant-general of the army, which died at Castella-Mare of his wounds received near the tower of Annuntiata. The Duke of Guise sent his prisoner, the Prince of Castellaneta, to Naples, to treat about exchanging of prisoners, as they used to do in Flanders, but the viceroy would not hear of it; so that the prince returned, and yielded himself prisoner again to the duke.

From Paris they write thus:—

The Duke of Florence hath held council of war several times, because he hears that General Blake is coming thither with his fleet. The Tuscans are resolved to defend their country stoutly.

A letter from the pope hath been presented by his nuncio to our king, signifying the arrival of Cardinal de Retz, demanding information of his crimes,—promising to do justice, but utterly refusing to submit him to any other judges than the consistory of cardinals. The nuncio presseth him for an answer, but hath none yet. The nuncio promised the Duke of Gloucester, and the Queen his mother, that, in very short time after his entrance into the Jesuits' college, he should have great ecclesiastical benefices; amongst the rest, he named the bishoprick of Metz; but Ormond hath him thence, and marred the Jesuits' whole design.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 2nd of December, with that inclosed to his highness. I have not much to trouble you with by this, things remaining much in the same condition as by my last,

only we are something better in Scotch letters this day, from thence certifying that there are but twenty foot left with Middleton, and but twenty horse with another party in some other place in the Highlands, which is all the force the enemy have left in the three nations.

The French ambassador is yet here, but there is no proceeding had upon that treaty since my foregoing letter. This week's letters from France do assure that there is lately arrived at Paris a courier from M. Delabard, the French ambassador in Switzerland, whereby is signified to the court that the cantons of Fribourg have joined with those of Solleure and Lucerne for the service of France, and that the rest of the cantons were like to do the same. What truth this hath in it you best know there; I desire to be informed particularly about it. I hear there are great endeavours used at Rome, and in other parts, to effect the general peace, and the ill success of the Duke of Guise at Naples may very much help towards it. If that be brought to pass it will very much concern the protestants in all Europe, although I do not find them very sensible of it.

I pray continue your intelligence. I find some of it more particular than we have here, though it comes sooner to us. Until I receive from you an answer to some of my former letters, I cannot say

anything further to you about the matters of your negotiations. I pray commend me to Mr. Dury.

I rest, your loving friend,

ADRIAN PETERS.

(It seems written December 22.—Received January 11.)*

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Dec. 23, 1654.

SIR,—The last week, with my letter, I sent you one from M. D., who was then here ; he went hence Dec. 21st, towards Geneva, with a resolution to tarry at Bern three or four days, and to ask their advice which way to go thither ; or in what place to give the Genevois a meeting, if the Bernois conceived that journey too dangerous for him. The next morning I received yours of Dec. 1st, with divers welcome particulars concerning England, &c. I have sent them to M. D., and also communicated them to our friends here.

From Cologne this week, there came news General Blake was entered into the service of Spain, upon condition to receive every month twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and that he had already received a great sum at Cadix. Some here under-

* Note by Mr. Pell.

stood that news, as if General Blake with all his fleet had forsaken the service and interest of England. At which interpretation I smiled, and told them I would not undertake for the truth of anything written from Cologne ; but that there might be some truth in this relation, notwithstanding the worth and loyalty of General Blake ; because in serving his own country against France, he might do many things advantageous to Spain, as he had done in that of Dunkirk, anno 52.

From Paris, December 12-22.—While the Duke of Guise was fighting near Annuciada, six of his fleet rescued a rich ship of French merchandize, pursued by a Hollander. This French merchant ran into a haven of Sardinia, where Gen. Blake then lay with his fleet. By that means he came to be informed where the Guisian fleet was, whereupon he immediately weighed anchor in hope to find them, but no certain news hath been since heard of Guise or Blake. But here was a flying report about the court, that the Duke of Guise retired from Castel-a-Mare in very good order to Tolon, having discovered that the spring is a fitter season for such an expedition, and that therefore he intends to spend this winter in preparation against the next April. The young Duke of Gloucester hath taken his leave at court, being to go to his eldest brother at Cologne ; he offered also to take his leave of the queen his mother, but she would not see him, or read his letter, but threw it into the fire in his messenger's sight.

The great news about the Louvre and Palace Royal was, that all the nobility and gentry of England were risen, as one man, against the Protector and parliament ; that the treaty between France and England was broken off ; which report was hardly to be reconciled with that which passed for current in court but two days before,—namely, that the treaty was agreed on, and quite concluded.

From Lausanne in Switzerland.—Our lords of Bern will now

be put to it to shew their constancy. The French ply them hard to draw them to an alliance alone. They are now soliciting there for new forces and levies, but we hope they will not forget their promise made to Zurich.

I cannot foresee any let that may hinder me the next week from finishing the account mentioned in my former letters ; so that with it I may close up the old year. In the meantime, I remain, Sir,

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

December, 1654.

SIR,—I had none from you by the last week's post, and this week's post is not yet arrived, so that I had nothing from you this fortnight. I have not failed to write to you since I have been recovered of my hurt, and hope my letters are come to hand, though I hear of none of them ; by them you had an account of all passages here and at large. What hath since happened in parliament is not very material. The great question that hath been among them, hath been concerning the election of the counsel, wherein the parliament have voted his highness to have the nominations, and themselves the approbation. What the committee appointed to consider of a confession of faith have done, you

will see by the inclosed ; it hath not been yet reported to the parliament.

The affairs of Scotland I have formerly writ to you,—namely, that Middleton had lodged himself in a place in the Highlands with about two hundred foot ; besides, there was, in another place, one hundred horse, under the command of Kinaile and Dudop, who endeavoured to join themselves to Middleton. What is become of them you will see by the enclosed.

The French treaty remains as it did by the last. We expect a Spanish extraordinary ambassador here very shortly, and another from Genoa. I have nothing more to trouble you with at this time. Since I began to write, I received your letter of the 18th, which gives me no occasion further to trouble you, more than to thank you for your kind expressions concerning my recovery.

So I rest, your loving friend, ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 30th, 1654.

SIR,—By yours of December 8th,* I see that you had then received my answer to the first of those

* This seems to be the preceding letter, which is not dated.

which you wrote since your hurt. I doubt not but the rest will also come to your hands ; though perhaps ill weather may, now and then, keep them in the way a week or two longer than in the summer.

Your news of the affairs in Scotland I have caused to be printed in the language of this country. The draught of the confession of faith I shall only communicate to some divines here, with an admonition not to publish it, but to expect the alterations which the parliament will make in it. I shall also send to M. D., who, at his coming to Bern, could not but hear of that which, after his departure hence, I received from Lausanne, and inserted in the end of my last week's letter ; and therefore I make no question but that he will endeavour to be fully informed of that business before he go thence towards Geneva. I expect letters from him by the next opportunity.

Here is also a rumour, that all the seven wholly popish cantons have promised the French ambassador to renew the league, which I cannot believe to be true. About a fortnight ago, the deputies of four of them were with him at Soloturn, and went away *re infectâ*. A burgomaster of Uri had so plied them in the Emperor's name to keep the promise of excepting Alsatia, and all other late acquests, that the French ambassador was not then able to bring them to comply with his desires. I am apt to believe, that the same burgomaster will

be able to keep those four cantons in the same mind a while longer. But he hath not so great influence in the other three, Lucern, Fribourg, and Soloturn.

Yet, on the other side, it is probable that these rumours are not altogether groundless; it is very likely that the French ambassador hath lately been making another heave at the cantons of both sorts. But if he should prevail with them, the account of my hopes and suspicions may be laid by; for the league renewed would plainly shew us what is to be expected of, &c.

Before M. D. went hence, I reckoned up to him all the heads, whereof I intended to you, and (in discourse) I added my opinion of them all; when I had ended, I desired him to tell me his sense of the whole, which I wrote down as he dictated, in this manner:—

“There is, in many of the chief leading men, a good inclination to do really that thing which tends to a correspondency with us, and for the common cause, though they cannot yet own such a design in a way of a treaty; because many of them look upon France with hopes of gaining their ends by it, especially Bern, which is entangled in a kind of particular treaty. Yet Bern hath promised that they will not renew the league without Zurich. I believe, also, that things here tend to a greater distance with France, and that they will ripen; and as

the papistical cantons have made a league with Spain, the pope, and other Italian princes, for assistance, in case the other cantons fall out with them, so may it in time be openly proposed to the protestant cantons to make a league with England for assistance and diversion, in case that France, or any of their other popish neighbours, shall invade them."

This was all that he thought fit to say to me at that time, but after he was gone hence, I began to set down my own apprehensions of the inclinations of this people, with which I cannot resolve to trouble you, till I be a little better assured of the truth or falsehood of the rumours aforesaid. In the meantime, I crave your pardon, and take my leave, remaining,

Sir, your humble servant.

From Cologne, December 17-27. The English letters assure us of the breach between England and France, and that Monsieur Bourdeaux is upon going away. The parliament hath ordered a contribution of eighty thousand pounds sterling per month for a war against France. This is very displeasing to the English, and a warning to the French.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

January 6th, 1654-5.

SIR,—No English letters are come hither this week. If they were only hindered by the weather, we hope that the next post will bring them. I have

now gotten a letter from M. D., wherein he writes thus :—

“ I learn here from (*), that the French league is much agitated, that in the meeting of the two hundred (that is, the common council of Bern), it hath been debated over by an argument which the General Erlach used, which was this ; that he said those of Zurich do repent that they had been hitherto so averse from it, and that their resolutions are altered, which made the opposite silent. And the consideration of the matter, and how to proceed therein, was referred to a committee, most of them well inclined to renew the league, Erlach, Willadin, Grafenriet, and some others. There is one of the *tribuni*, and some few with him, that are strongly opposed, but (*) thinks it will be carried by those that intend to renew, and I hear men talking abroad of levies to be made. The occasion of the deliberations about the league was, a letter sent hither from the court of France to desire the renewing of it, with fair promises.” Thus far M. D.

As soon as I had read this, I sent for one of those whom I most trust here. I shewed him the letter, and prayed him, as soon as it might be, to acquaint some of those with it who have been most earnest against the French, that they may speedily endeavour to get a letter written from hence to Bern, to assure them of the falsehood of this report,

and to exhort them to continue constant to their promise of giving no ear to the French ambassador till he have satisfied all their claims. Next I considered what other false news might help to deceive the Bernois, who are noted by their neighbours for their little care of true intelligence. I shall endeavour that in such things also they may be more truly informed. For as long as a Sicilian cardinal sits at the stern in France,* I expect many false winds thence. And if the French ambassador have not the right knack of coining false news and putting it off here for current, he shall be taught by letters from the Louvre. Something he hath learned already, as you may see by this, received on new year's day.

“The French ambassador wrote to Friburg, and signified to them that the four cantons (Uri, Schwytz, Unterwald, and Zug) were ready to accept the alliance, of which he thought fit to give notice to them, that they might prevent them, and so be taken notice of by his master the king, who would not fail to remember the most forward. This was sufficient to bring the woodcocks into the snare. That they answered that they were ready to accept it. They hope, for this forwardness, to be preferred before all the other cantons, and to have one of theirs made colonel of the regiment of guards. But the four cantons, being not so ready as he pretended, would not be caught with chaff. They have lately received some money by the ambassador's order. Perhaps they will now prove more pliant.

From Vienna.—The young arch-duke is very sick. The merchants are privileged against the inquisition, and yet they

* Mazarin.

fear that at last these reformers (as they call themselves) will fall upon them ; for the commissaries of the deformation have already cited persons of very great quality in this city. Our people are much discontented in Hungary. Our grandees fear the Prince of Transylvania, with his army of thirty-six thousand.

From Florence.—Nine Hollandish ships coming to Leghorn, brought that they saw Blake, with twenty-four very strong ships, within the straits. A little vessel of Venice tells those of Leghorn, that she came from Lisbon in twelve days ; that the English lingered, in hope to have met with Neusette that went from Rochel to join himself with Guise ; but he returned to Rochel, as soon as he was assured that General Blake was about the straits. Our great duke is much troubled. He hath sent two hundred soldiers more to Leghorn. The English merchants say that Gen. Blake is to take in more guns at Valencia, and then to go to Tunis and Algiers to force the pirates of Barbary to reason.

From Rome.—Our ports of Civita Vecchia hath express order to be in a posture of defence, for fear of Blake with his twenty-four ships. The King of Swedes' brother is here incognito. The pope, and the cardinals Cherubin and Gabrieli are sick.

From Milan.—The whole coast of Florence is in arms for fear of an English fleet which hath been seen in the Mediterranean ; for, it is said, that the fleet hath order to demand all the ships and goods of English merchants detained by the Duke of Florence, and to force him by reprisals, if he will not restore them without.

We heard, six days ago, that the pope had dismissed all his physicians, and put himself into the hands of two Jesuits, his confessors. Now (January 8th) we hear that he hath received extreme unction ; posts are sent out to call all the cardinals that are in Italy and Germany. It is thought that Carpequa, Rappagiola, or Corrada, will be chosen pope.

We hear also that 28 English ships are come to Naples to fight with the French, but the French were gone.

From Schaffhausen, December 30.—I perceive by the last

letters from Holland, that the Orange party is struggling ; the English must rap the Zealanders before they will be quiet.

From Chur in Rhetia.—General Blake was honourably received by the viceroy of Naples ; he said he was come to settle the trade at Leghorn, Genoa, &c. Some doubt that the toy might take him to admonish the cardinals to chuse a pope of the English faction.

From Basil, Jan. 3.—Four days ago, the prince cardinal of Hessen passed through this town towards Rome, to the election.

From Cologne.—The Spaniards assure us that there will be hot wars between England and France, and between Holland and Portugal.

Sir, I am your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Jan. 13.

SIR,—I wrote the last week what I had done in that business of Bern. The day after, I learned that the matter had been propounded in the senate. Some of them would have a letter written presently in the name of the senate of Zurich. Others would have no notice taken of such a report ; for, said they, it may be no such thing was said of us ; and if there were, we may protest it was a false report, and pray them to be constant, &c. But do we not know with what envious eyes Bern looks upon Zurich ? Will they not cry out, as heretofore, that we take too much upon us ? that to let us see how little they regard our prescribing humour, they will renew the

league in spite of us ? After much debate, a middle way was agreed on, that their chief secretary's substitute should write a letter, as from himself, to the chief magistrate of Bern, telling him that it was reported in Zurich that the senate had decreed to renew the league, saying that Zurich repented, &c., of which repentance he saw no sign, &c. About five o'clock at night, January 6, this letter was sent from Zurich by posts that travel day and night. On the 10th of January the said substitute received an answer from the foresaid consul to this purpose.

“I do not remember that any such thing was said concerning Zurich in public, but in private it is likely that some such news hath been scattered by people that desire it should be. I hope we shall keep firmly to our resolution of Arrau.”

But M. D. wrote to me from Bern that June 6th he spoke with the said consul. He desired M. D. to write to some of his acquaintance at Zurich, to persuade them to call, as soon as may be, a meeting of the protestant cantons ; for, said he, the bishop of Basil (a papist), the canton of Lucern, and the French, have lately made particular applications to our canton alone for alliance, &c. I am one of those to whom all these things are referred to be considered, so that my hands are bound. I cannot write for such a meeting, though I exceedingly desire that, before we be engaged in any treaties

with the fore-named parties, the evangelical cantons may come together and confirm their union, and draw to a nearer conjunction of alliances for their mutual welfare ; and may give us their advice what to do with those which make the aforesaid applications to us alone for protection or amity ; which I believe will be judged to be but devices, tending to divide us from the rest of the cantons, and so to lay a foundation of discord among us.

M. D. answered that he would immediately write thereof to M. P., who with all speed and secrecy would make it known to such as are able to effect his desire.

I received his letter Jan. 10th, late. The next morning I ordered it so, that, by sure hands, this was represented to one of the most eminent here. He will consider it, and perhaps procure it. So an answer was presently written to Bern, by which the consul might know that M. D. and M. P. had served him in this secret, and that it was put into good hands who would be careful of it.

But I wrote back to M. D. that I was not assured that this consul Bernensis was so sincerely against the French league as he seemed, and I feared that a speedy meeting of the cantons was desired by all those that most wish for the league with France, in hope to bring Zurich and the rest to consent to recede from the resolution agreed

upon at Arrau, that so Bern may not be alone in renewing.

With the aforesaid letter M. D. sent me this letter for yourself, and another paper concerning some discourse with two others of Bern ; whereof I have sent you a copy, for his original was full of ciphers.

Yesterday I received one from you, by which I perceived mine of December 2nd were come to your hand, as also that you had heard of the French league renewed by three cantons. All the territory of those three cantons laid together would make a country about as great as the county of Sussex. But the French rejoice not so much for those three, as for their hopes that the rest will follow their example. Some say that the other four popish cantons, Uri, etc., prayed Friburg to send them a copy of their agreement with France ; that they have sent it, and told them that the merchants of Zurich, Basil, shall be deprived of all their privileges and freedoms which they have hitherto enjoyed in France, if they do not renew the alliance with France.

The priests look merrily, and vaunt that France desires only to renew with the catholic cantons and to exclude the protestants.

Sir, I am your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

January 20th, 1654.

SIR,—The meeting mentioned in my last week's letter was proposed here in the council this week, but could not be obtained, for fear of increasing the jealousies of the popish cantons. Wherefore it was in the second place proposed, that they might have a general meeting for the papists, as well as the protestants, at Baden; for so the delegates of the protestants might find time to confer apart, and do the business as well there as if they were at Arraw. This was more easily agreed to. But then they must find out some business which might seem to require haste, that might serve for a colour for so speedy meeting as Bern desired. They considered many things, but at last resolved upon two:—first, the complaints of their merchants, that the house of Austria had not yet made any change or new reglement of the imposts, as was promised the last summer; the other was, the necessary reformation of their prefects, and other public offices, in those provinces which are subject to many of the cantons in common. These occasions were thought sufficient; and therefore it was resolved to write letters of summons, to be all at Baden on January 28th, so that they might begin to sit the next morning. Besides the general summons, there is a secret intimation sent to some considerable person in every

protestant canton, that it will be fit that their delegates be men that well understand the business of the French league, because there will be occasion to speak of it before they part. This will fill them all with great expectation of the resolutions of this meeting; for the great scarcity of money all over this country makes many fear that France will be able with ready money to tempt and corrupt all the leading persons of these countries to do such things as, otherwise, they know to be contrary to their general concernments. Yet, till such compliance with France be irrevocably decreed, there will be some hopes of the contrary, because time may make them more fully discern their own interest, and the designs of their enemies. A very considerable person here wrote thus to me to-day:—“*Mitto particularia magni momenti, quæ a candido pectore habui hoc mane. Tota Cohors Papistica veram molitur conjurationem in nostros, in nos. Omnia prudentur consideranda, penetranda. Deliberandum de modis nostræ conservationis mutuæ; quia scopum adversariorum Babylonicorum scimus. . . . Sit Deus Zabaoth Protector Protectoris et Ecclesiæ, &c.*” The *particularia* which he speaks of were written in French—in English thus:—

“A person of great quality, and whom I dare trust, writes to me that the persecution continues in Austria and in Bohemia, by a new inquisition. 2. That the Emperor and his counsellors prepare

commissions and seek money for the raising of forty thousand men. 3. That the King of Sweden hath signified to the Elector of Bavaria that he desires to have Ingoldstadt, and is ready to lay down the money for which it was mortgaged to his ancestors: the Elector and his council have answered, that if he would have it, he must come himself and take possession with his sword in hand. 4. That it is very easy to foresee a general league of the papists against the protestants of Germany, and an endeavour to make a division among the protestant cantons; and that King Charles labours to be restored, and hath great hopes of it." Thus far the French paper.

What this man writes of King Charles agrees with that which, this week, a physician of this city received from Pater Columbanus, guardian of the Capuchins at Soloturn, where the French ambassador resides.

"I hear," saith this Capuchin, "that at Zurich there resides an English ambassador, to form an alliance both politic and ecclesiastic between England and the uncatholic cantons. Methinks those wise lords should consider what the English have done to their king. You should do well to endeavour to draw your countrymen within the pale of holy church, &c. I confess the restitution of ecclesiastical goods is a great hindrance; but his Holi-

ness will condescend to shew great moderation. I long to discourse with you about the whole design, and the way which I conceive ought to be taken. But as for the English, assure yourself, that, as soon as France and Spain are reconciled, they will join their forces to revenge the unpardonable injuries done to their kinsman and ally.”

You see this friar’s intelligence is none of the best, nor is his understanding much better. I doubt he was not made guardian of his order so much for his parts as for his lineage, being of the house of Sonenburg, an honourable and very ancient family in Lucern. Yet all that he says is not to be despised. He writes something which he hath heard from wiser men than himself. But, whatsoever these men write of King Charles’s hopes, I do not yet find that any applications have been hitherto made from him, or for him, to any of the cantons, either popish or protestant: to say the truth, he is hardly for their turn. Their want of money, and their desire of it, render them incapable of hearkening to anything that may be said in his name, that wants money as much themselves. They have been long used to despise all persuasion that is not adorned with golden eloquence, and strengthened with arguments drawn from silver mines.

From Lausanna, Jan. 15, M. Dury writes thus:—

I did not see the letter which was written to Grafenriedt, (Consul Bern.) dated January 6th, before I went from Bern, and it was to good purpose. After he had received it, he communicated it to me, and I advised it to be imparted to Mr. (*) that he might take notice of it among his friends.

I first spoke with the ministers of this city two days ago, and gave them information of my negotiation, so that I have done here, and suppose that when I return I shall receive a declaration from them. They are very solicitous for England, and fear a breach between France and us. When I informed them of the Lord Protector's resolution not to quit the interest of the protestants in France for any outward benefit, they admired it, and resolved to put their prayers for us. The governor of this place tells me that there are six troops of French horse come to lodge in the territory of Gex, near Geneva, which may make my journey thither unsafe; but my purpose to go for Beaumont (a bailiship of the Lords of Bern) doth hold, except those of Geneva advise me to come to them by water, which everybody says can be done with great safety.

From Geneva, January 16th.—An express from Lausanna brought us letters from M. D., dated January 13th, wherein he prays us to give him a meeting at Nyon or Beaumont. Yesterday we sent back an answer, that our deputies should be ready to go hence toward Nyon as soon as we heard he was come thither. God direct all to his own glory, and the good of his church!

HONOURABLE SIR,—When these inclosed papers were written for A. P.,† I understood from the principal secretary that the protestant cantons intended to write to his highness in favour of their merchants of St. Gall, who have but four ships in all, and are afraid lest our men of war should take them at sea for French ships; they therefore desire

† Adrian Peters, i. e. Secretary Thurloe.

four passports for them. I promised the secretary, that when their solicitor petitioned for them at Whitehall, he should find that mention had been made of his business in the letters of

Your honour's most humble servant, J. P.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

January 26th, 1654.

SIR,—I have had no letters from you neither this nor the post before, nor from Mr. Dury, which makes me suspect your letters are intercepted; and it is probable enough that such tricks may be put upon you at Cologne, considering the company that are at this time there.* I think it were good, therefore, to alter your direction, and possibly your letters may come safely for the future under the cover of Mr. Hartlib. There has been this week a very considerable alteration in affairs; the Parliament, having sat out their time of five months, were dissolved by his Highness on Monday last.† Before he dissolved them he declared at large, in a speech of two hours long, the reasons of his so doing, wherein he gave so great satisfaction, that most men are contented with it. The truth is, there was so little consistency and agreement

* King Charles and his court were at this time resident at Cologne.—*Thurloe*, ii. 645, 646.

† See the Introduction.

amongst themselves, and so violent and strong parties contradicting each other, that it was scarce possible for them to come to any resolution among themselves that might be for public good. In all the time they sate they prepared not any one act to present to his Highness, nor not so much as for raising money for paying the army, which they suffered to go upon free quarter, to the discontenting of all the people, a thing which has not fallen out before these eight years, and which of itself had been enough to have put the nation into blood, if the Protector had not been able by his own interest alone to keep things in peace. And during their sitting there have been many great and dangerous designs on foot. A revolt was endeavoured in the army, especially in that of Scotland,* where they

* The following notes of this intended "revolt" are given in the *Mercurius Politicus*, and are repeated in substance (often in the same words) in the other news pamphlets of the day :—

From Dalkeith (where the army lay), *December 29.*—Here was a meeting appointed lately by several officers of the army, and it was to take notice of the state and condition of public matters, and vent some discontented humours; but the design took not as it was intended.

From Dalkeith, January 2.—While the common enemy is submitting, and seeking terms of peace, some among ourselves were agitating disturbance. Their discontents had prevailed so far as to lead them to consultations and correspondences, in design to divide the army, and withdraw them from their obedience to the present government, as may be suspected. Major-General Overton, having been twice sent for

had resolved to have seized upon General Monck, and to have marched with a great part of the army into England, under the command of Colonel Overton,* leaving all Scotland to the mercy of the Scots, and had so laid it that they hoped for a considerable party in England to have joined with them. But it pleased God we had notice timely of their intention, and by apprehending the ring-leaders of them, whereof Overton is one, who is now close prisoner in the Tower, their design, I hope, is prevented, and the advantage taken hereby of ridding the army of persons of those principles—viz. levellers and anabaptists. At the same time the cavaliers had designed a rising through the nation, and to that end had disposed many thousand arms, whereof, through the goodness of God, we had notice, and have seized a good quan-

by the general, and not coming, is secured; as also Major Brampston of Colonel Morgan's regiment, Major Homes of the general's regiment of foot, Captain Hedsworth of Sir William Constable's regiment, and several lieutenants and cornets are laid hold of; by which the design is like to be, or, I may rather say, is wholly broken. We have secured also Mr. Oats, chaplain to Colonel Bride's regiment. Colonel Bridge, late major to Colonel Okey, and now colonel of the regiment, is gone to take charge thereof.

From Dalkeith, January 4. — Major-General Overton was this day sent aboard the Basing frigate, to be conveyed to London.

* Major-General Overton was an ardent republican. In 1660, soon after the restoration, he was put under arrest, on the pretence of being concerned in a plot against the King's person.

tity of arms in several gentlemen's houses in the country, where in some places we found complete arms for whole troops of horse. Thus God is still pleased to disappoint the purposes and intentions of enemies of all sorts. I can write nothing of your negotiations until I learn from you, and have an answer of what I have formerly writ of that subject. I pray commend me kindly to Mr. Dury.

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Jan. 27.

SIR,—These two weeks no letters of yours have come to my hands. My last week's letter to yourself I sent to Mr. Hartlib in a covert, superscribed for Mr. Sec. In it I made mention of a meeting of all the cantons at Baden, designed to be Jan. 28th, but I find that that meeting goes not on. Those of Lucern refuse to come. I have not yet heard what other cantons refuse or excuse themselves, but there are enough of them to cause that meeting to be deferred. Without doubt, they perceive that the pretended causes of that meeting do not require such haste, that men should travel in such ways, and in such bad weather. Zurich hath shewed a readiness to have gratified Bern in this

business ; and if it cannot yet be brought to pass, they must have patience. In the mean time I do not perceive that Zurich is more inclined to the league than it was, but seems rather resolved to hold the other protestant cantons to their promise of not renewing before satisfaction, &c. In Bern, some, especially the gentry, are active for it ; but the mere citizens are not so forward. If Bern would begin, it is believed that Basil and Schaffhausen would follow, and leave sullen Zurich out, as they were always left out of all alliances with France, save that of the perpetual peace. It is but just forty-one years since Zurich first entered into league with France. That league was for the life of King Louis XIII., and eight years after. The French ambassador hath been labouring ever since it was expired, and before, but hath gotten none to renew it but those three cantons, whose names I find in your last letter. All the rest stand out yet, for aught I can learn.

From M. D. I have received no letter since that of Jan. 15th. But by a letter written at Geneva, Jan. 23rd, by old Monsieur Tronchin, professor of divinity, I perceive he was then come thither, and lodged in his house, and that they intended to begin to hear him the next morning. Some of Zurich began to say that he durst not go to Geneva, because the magistrates of that city would not bid him welcome, nor take him into their protection, for fear of dis-

pleasing the French king, who is protector of Geneva. But now M. D. is there, and the forecast of those considerate persons is not a little thereby disparaged.

From Chur, in the Grisons' country, Jan. 23.—The earl of Casati (Spanish ambassador) is gone hence to Milan, to solicit for pensions for the Grisons and popish cantons, and to consult about a prevention of the alliance between France and the cantons. Here we are all listening after the election of the new pope. Some of ours say if they were so near Rome, and as well furnished as General Blake is, they would make the conclave choose a Calvinist for this once, and call him Peter the Second.

From Cologne, Jan. 10.—There is no good understanding between the Parliament and the Protector. He hath doubled his guards, pretending a new conspiracy against him.

From Orleans, January 15-25.—Our letters from Rome say that the pope is dead, and the English have alarmed the coasts of Italy in many places, by reason of their great number of ships of war. Here we say that part of their design is to countenance the Spanish faction, that they may the more easily hinder the choice of a new pope well affected to France.

Some English gentlemen here have received letters that tell them of another conspiracy against my Lord Protector, which, being discovered, hath given him occasion to imprison many persons of quality, and to send abroad some troops to seize upon some suspected gentlemen, &c., also to plant some cannon before his palace, and in the chief street of London.

I should be glad to see such a relation of this conspiracy, as might be fit to be translated into the language of this country, and to be communicated to prevent misinformations, which will be sent hither from many an ill writer, besides what the evil country may add.

I received not the last quarter's money till this afternoon,—that is, four months after the time. If some course be not taken to cause a warrant to be signed, and the money paid more timely hereafter, I fear that the arrears will grow great, which will be very inconvenient for one that strives to do all with ready money, as succeeding one whose debts are here so great that it is not good to try whether he have not utterly marred the credit of his successors. But I hope care will be taken of your humble and faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

2nd February, 1654-5.

SIR,—I received this post three of yours: one of the 30th of December, another of the 6th of January, and the third of the 13th of January, and in that one from Mr. Dury, from Bern, dated the 6th of January; by all which I see that the interest of the French is upon the growing hand with the cantons, even amongst those that are protestants. How you are to carry yourself towards them in this business, you need no new instructions—what you have already on that behalf is sufficient. And I perceive by your letters that you are not idle; nor do I think we ought to be discouraged, but to use endeavours as far as opportunity is afforded,—and

sometimes the success proves otherwise than we could have expected from the means used to such an end.

I wrote you by my last what condition and posture our affairs were in here since the dissolution of the Parliament, which, although it seemed at first view to be an action of an extraordinary nature, yet, it being duly considered, it could make no such alteration in affairs as some persons might apprehend; for what was done was but in pursuance of the government itself, which limits the time of the Parliament's sitting unto five months; so that their death was not untimely and violent, but natural, and left things in the same state as they were before*—I mean, upon the same foundation. And although the Protector and the Parliament did not agree in all the things of the government, yet in most they did: as, for instance, they agreed for the altering of the government from a republic to a single person and a Parliament; that the single person should be the present Protector; that the family of the Stuarts should be for ever excluded, and many other particulars; so that they came to a consistency and full agreement in those things wherein the contest lieth between us and our

* It is certain, however, that Cromwell, by availing himself of the letter of the "Instrument of Government," took the Parliament somewhat by surprise in the act of dissolving it.

enemies. Their slowness and dilatoriness (they bringing nothing at all to perfection), which the present constitution of the nation could not bear, was their greatest fault, which I suppose another Parliament will amend, and husband their time better.

In the meanwhile, all things have a face of peace and quiet ; the late designers being so far discovered as that they are discouraged, and the bringing some of them that are taken and apprehended to punishment will I hope discourage more, and make men weary at last of such wicked attempts. And, however men may apprehend us to be in an unsettled state, and prefer the condition of France and Spain unto ours, yet I cannot but think that such men do take a very ill measure of things, and judge rather by affection than any solid grounds. For although we have had some discontents, yet these discontents are but in particular persons, who have neither interest nor credit in the nation ; and I dare affirm, that either of these two crowns are less safe even in those respects than this state, their subjects being apt and prepared to rise upon any occasion of a foreign invasion from abroad against their princes, that they might free themselves from the thralldom they are under. Besides, you know what war they have in their own bowels, whereas (through the goodness of God) we have no war at all in the three nations ; and although taxes have been as

heretofore heavy, yet they have been, ever since the beginning of this government, upon the abating hand. Thirty thousand pounds a-month was abated this time twelvemonth by the Protector and council, and now they abate thirty thousand pounds a-month more, bringing the tax from one hundred and twenty thousand to sixty thousand pounds, which is but a small proportion to this nation, and that which the people will not feel, so that (through the blessing of God) we may expect, upon good grounds, more stability in our affairs than was looked for (some years past) in so short a time; and I believe no man ever knew this state in so great reputation abroad as now it is. And although I perceive those where you are are shy of an alliance with us, yet other states and princes do earnestly desire it. The French have been seeking of it ever since the Protector's accession to the government, and Spain would give a million for it. I speak not this boastingly, knowing that what we are, we are by the goodness of God.

The Genoa ambassador has had a private audience since his first reception, and doth propound things very considerable, with which you may be hereafter acquainted, if there comes any effect of his negotiation. He is a person of great honour and generosity.

The French treaty is not yet concluded, and the issue of it is doubtful—a few days will let us see

what it will be. The ambassador offers the exclusion of the royal family out of France. We are in expectation of an extraordinary ambassador from Spain. I desire you to remember my hearty affections unto Mr. Dury, and excuse my not writing to him in particular—I account I write to both when I write to one. I remain,

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

February 3.

SIR,—I have had no letter from you these three weeks.

From Paris, January 12-22.—Pen's fleet was seen near the coast of Brittany. Spain promiseth England to maintain an army of ten thousand of their men, if they will break with France, and to put Dunkirk and Gravelines into their hands for caution.

From Paris, January 19-29.—Monsieur L'Estrade, governor of Bourdeaux, intended to go to court, but he stays, fearing an English invasion.

The pages and lackeys here threaten that twenty thousand of them will go to the Prince of Condé, if the King do not give them leave to wear swords again.

Our last letter from London tells that, notwithstanding this great conspiracy,* the Protector looks lively, and as if he never broke his sleep for the matter; that he himself, accompanied

* This alludes to a conspiracy against Cromwell in the latter end of December. The newspapers give lists of the names of persons imprisoned on suspicion. They were obscure people.

with none but his secretary of state, hath examined a great many suspected persons, and set some of them free; that General Monk hath imprisoned divers principal officers of the English army in Scotland, upon suspicion of another conspiracy there. The news here is, that the great Duke of Florence hath paid fifty thousand pistoles to General Blake, who thereupon is to remove from before Livorno, which he hath held, as it were, blocked up a pretty while. We say that Blake and Pen are to join their fleets, having a great design upon the Pope's territories, toward which Spain hath promised passage.

From Cologne, January 21-31.—Many grandees are interested in this last conspiracy. The Protector aims at the crown. Pen's fleet is to go against Cuba. The Duke of Gloucester is come hither to his brother.

From Sangall, January 28.—Spain and Genoa are agreed. On the 11-21st of this month, in four hours, thirty houses in Milan were consumed by fire, besides their chancery and the adjoining buildings; so that all their records and privileges are burnt, which will cause innumerable inconveniences in their affairs, both public and private. Some dare say that Caragena himself (the governor) was the contriver of this fire, because the city of Milan had sent complaints into Spain against him, that he did many things against their privileges. Out of these ashes may arise a worse fire of sedition.

From Bern, January 29.—Here are some that would fain bring the rest to the renewing of the league, that they might be fingering the French crowns, and send away their children and kinsmen to the French wars; but they find a great and sudden change in many that seemed to be of their mind. Many of those that were hottest are now the coldest. The project of delivering so much French salt yearly, that we might have the furnishing of the country at what price we list, was a plausible attractive, but the Burgundians (subjects of Spain) have marred all, by offering to serve the country at far easier rates with Burgundian salt, which we prefer before any salt of France. Others (that would not seem to regard the salt monopoly, especially now it is cried down,) say, that new propositions are preparing in France, and that we ought not to speak any further

of renewing the league till we see what they are. So we are now at a stand.

From Zurich, February 3-13.—The council here may do well hereafter to look into the almanack before they appoint days for general meetings. Some in the popish cantons take it for a kind of affront that Zurich called them to appear at Baden on Shrove Sunday. No political consultations must be thought so considerable as the continuing of old customs:—gluttony, drunkenness, and foolery, the first three days of the week for a carnival, and then, the rest of the week, ashes and mortification. But their uncatholic neighbours think it had been no great matter for two of a canton to have been from home in that week, especially when they were to be in Baden, a catholic town. The truth is, those of Zurich thought not on it, Shrove Sunday in the old style being four weeks later than the new style this year. The deputies of Bern were come as far as Arraw before they heard that the meeting was put off. Basil had signified how glad they were of such a meeting; and they were about to have written to Zurich for a general assembly, because of some urgent affairs of theirs. Hereafter, when we are assured that our popish neighbours are in the humour to go from home, we shall be ready to gratify Basil; for by that time, it may be, the occasion will be past which made Bern desire that meeting.

From Florence, January 23.—General Blake continues at the port of Livorno, and takes all the French vessels that arrive there. They are very careful here not to give him any distaste. We cannot find out the true cause of his coming into these seas. He himself says, that he hath order to scour those seas of pirates, and make trading safe; and that ere long he will go to Barbary. The Venetian resident here has order to go to Livorno, and to agree with some ships of war there for the service of Venice.

The Duke of Parma came hither, intending to go to Rome to treat with the new Pope about his affairs; but here they advised him to tarry till the election was past. So he left his mother here, and returned into his own dominions.

From Milan, January 27.—They write from Genoa that General Blake hath a design upon the islands of Honorato and

Margerita. Others say, that he hath agreed with Spain to serve them with his fleet one year for one hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

February 10th, 1655.

SIR,—I have had no letter from you these four weeks. Since my last to you, I cannot learn that anything hath been done further, save that the popish part of Glavis hath sent an agent to Soloturn, to treat with the French ambassador. If they renew the league, and get good store of money, it will tempt the protestant part of the same canton to do so too. That will give the French ambassador a new cause of triumph, though that whole canton has not 1500 housekeepers.

M. Dury hoped to be at Bern by the eighth of this month; from thence he proposed to write to you, so that by the next post he may be fit to give you account of his journey hence to Geneva, and back again. I am, Sir, your humble servant.

From Paris, January 29th.—The English agent's secretary is gone hence. He took his leave of the cardinal, who then said to him, "Let my Lord Protector and the Parliament be assured, that France desires to have peace with all her neighbours, and will not begin war with any of them."

Memorials and instructions are prepared here, to be sent to the French ambassador in London.

From Paris, February 2nd.—Here is a declaration to be

published in the King's name through all the realm, that his Majesty will permit no other religions in France than the Catholic and the Reformed. The Jansenists say that this is done to disgrace them; as if they were not to be counted Catholics.

From Cologne, January 28th, old style.—The Protector has spent three days in prayer and fasting, with thoughts of resigning the government.*

The Spaniards are in great perplexity, fearing that England will give out letters of marque against Spain. There is a meeting at Brussels in great haste about it.

It is believed here, that the three infantas of Savoy, Portugal, and Spain, shall be this year married to the French King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Arch-Duke Leopold William.

From Brisach, Feb. 2.—The French make great provision of money and men, that they may be able to keep Alsatia. This garrison shall have new supplies of both sent hither shortly.

From Milan, Feb. 3, new style.—Count Francesco Casati is come hither, and tells our governor that the popish cantons are discontented at the Spanish proceedings, and conceive themselves necessitated to treat with France. Then many a man amongst them will lose his Spanish pension.

From Chur, in Rætia, Jan. 30.—The post of Milan tells us that he saw the great fire of Milan, and that it hath consumed the records and accounts belonging to the whole duchy.

Our disorders grow every day greater. We have hitherto refused to let our ministers go before any popish court, because our popish countrymen will not endure their priests to be judged by any secular court,—no, though it be wholly popish.† But a minister of the Grisons' league has been lately drawn before a court of popish judges; which raiseth such an animosity on our side as, we fear, the wisest among us will not be able to allay. It seems our papists are resolved to force us to a civil war.

* A specimen of the sort of news which frequently emanated from the exiled court.

† This ground of dispute is older than the age of Thomas à Becket.

They presume that Spain will help them, and that we shall have no assistance from any.

From the same place, Feb. 6.—The French ambassador hath written here from Soloturn, that an express came from England to the court at Paris with articles of peace; and that he was sent back into England with order to the ambassador there to sign them.

From Iverdon, Feb. 6.—We hear that the French king shall marry the infanta of Savoy. If he does, our neighbours of Geneva will be in great danger, and the canton of Bern too.

From Lausanne, Feb. 5, old style.—In France, the cardinal hath caused the governors of the provinces to inquire of the protestants :—

1. Whether they have procured my L. Protector's intercession for them? The answer was negative.

2. Whether in case the English should invade France, they would not defend the king and his dominions against them? The answer was affirmative.

From Rome, Jan. 23.—Of the sixty-nine cardinals now alive, only three are absent, Santoval, Cueva, and Mazarin. The other sixty-six are here in the conclave. We believe it will be long ere they agree in the choice of a new pope. Gen. Blake's fleet is going from Livorno towards Provence.

The pasquils here are innumerable,—almost all obscene, or, at least, profane. This is reckoned one of the least blame-worthy.

One knocking at the door of Paradise, Saint Peter looked out, and asked, "Who's there?" He that had knocked, answered, "I am Pope Innocent the Tenth." "Unlock the door, and come in," said St. Peter. "I have not the keys about me," quoth the other. "No," said St. Peter, "you left them with Donna Olympia; go fetch them. I do not use to turn the key for popes; they may use their own keys."

The old man going thence discontented, saw a door standing open, into which he was invited to enter, and was told that he was welcome. "O," said Pluto, "long looked for, come at last." The hellish darkness was not so great but that Mascabruno

quickly spied him: "And art thou come at last with all thy faults?" said he: "thou that madest me be executed unjustly." "Not unjustly," said the pope; "your behaviour in the datary redounded too much to my dishonour." "What!" said the other, "I did nothing without order of your factotum, your donna." After much contesting, they fell to cuffs, and that with so much noise, that they disturbed Pencirolo, who coming out, and having learned the occasion of the quarrel, composed it for a time, by telling them it was impossible to decide the controversy between them, till Donna Olympia came thither, which would be very shortly. So that, in the interim, they ought to keep the peace.

(Witness,) PASQUIN.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

February 17th, 1654.

SIR,—I have had no letter from England this week, but letters from France have made it known here, that the parliament is dissolved, which I began to foretel here four weeks ago, that when it came to pass it might not seem strange to them; they do not seem much troubled at it here.

I hope you have received a large account of M. D. from himself. He wrote to me from Bern, Feb. 11, that he was then printing something, and that he intended to write to you from thence, and then come hither to me.

Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Feb. 24, 1655.

SIR,—I have by this post received two letters from you, the one dated Jan. 26, the other, Feb. 2, which latter tells me that you have received three of mine at once. There have been some contrary winds at sea, and the landways have been stopped by the overflowing of the river after the sudden thaws, which have done very great harm in several places of Germany. Your letters seem to meet with one of those hinderances, and mine with both.

I give you many thanks for those satisfactory informations concerning the dissolution of parliament, the revolt of the army in Scotland, and the conspiracy of the Stewartines in England, of all which I hope to speak with M. D. within two or three days; he is now at Arraw. The deputies of this city went thither three days ago. What they have done there may be better said by the next post. But in short thus. All the protestant cantons have resolved to defer their renovation of the French league, though they hear that now all the popish cantons have signed it. In a letter written six days ago, M. D. tells me of one written from the senate of Geneva to H. H., which, if I do not misunderstand him, he saith he hath sent to you.

As soon as the French treaty is come to an issue

fit to be communicated, I shall hope that your letters will make it known to

Your humble servant.

From Cologne, Feb. 4-14.—King Charles and his party here seem very glad to hear that Hull* refuseth to obey the Protector. They say it is a good sign; as it was the first town that opposed the father, so it will be the first for the declaring for the restitution of the son.

From Paris, Feb. 12.—If the treaty with England succeed, and Mary† intends to go into Savoy, we do not yet hear whither the Duke of York will go.

MR. JOHN DURY TO MR. PELL.

From Arraw, this 24th Feb., 1655.

SIR,—I am spoken to by the lords of Zurich who are here, to entreat you to help, by your letters to

* It was reported about this time, that Hull had rebelled against Cromwell's government, and the king had some intention of landing there. We find a similar report in the *Mercurius Politicus* in the beginning of March, at the time of the attempt at a general insurrection, when it was announced that Hull had revolted, that King Charles was there, and that the Duke of York had arrived at Bristol. Overton was to have opened Hull to the king.

† Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. One condition of the treaty was, that the English royal family should be expelled from France.

his highness, to second their request unto the Duke of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor distressed protestants of Piedmont, who are commanded to be gone out of their native country (where they have lived so many hundreds of years), if they will not go to the mass. The Secretary Schmidt,* who is here, will write to the secretary there, who will give you more particular information of their case, and upon that information you are entreated to move his highness, that he would use such means for their relief as he shall think most expedient, either through France, from which Savoy now depends, or through some other interposition. The evangelical cantons write jointly to the duke on the distressed parties' behalf, and think that his intercession will be more effectual; this they entreat you would do by the post which goes on Monday morning, *quia periculum est in mora*, &c.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—This post brought me his highness's speech† inclosed in a letter of yours. At the same time I received another copy from Mr. Hartlib, which I gave to M. D. ; some here desire to see it

* Andrew Schmidt, under-secretary of Zurich.

† On the dissolution of the parliament.

translated into high Dutch and printed. I am glad to hear that all is so quiet in England, neither old nor new malcontents breaking out into action.

Of those poor souls in Piedmont, I gave you some account in my last week's letter. This adjoined copy of a French letter concerning them came yesterday to my hands from one of the most considerable persons here, who desired me to send it to you as it is, rather than a translation of it. The copy of the edict mentioned in the 8th line of the French was also sent to me at the same time, but being in Italian, and not written very legibly, I thought I might do well to keep it by me, till I had more leisure, either to translate it, or to write it fairer. Here they say, that a letter of intercession from the Lord Protector would have been more regarded by the Duke of Savoy, if it had been sent him whilst General Blake was so near his port of Nice; but they think it is not yet too late to write, for the bitter weather did not permit those poor families to go far. Some are gone into Dauphiné, others to their poor brethren that dwell in a more craggy and barren part of Piedmont, and would be glad to be recalled to their old dwellings. And surely those miscreants that make such havoc in their houses, vineyards, orchards, etc., are afraid that such a revocation will be procured, for else, methinks, they should rather spare such things for the papists that may succeed.

The magistrates of Berne sent hither this adjoined Latin description of the lamentable condition of those Piedmontan exiles, together with a letter wherein the Bernenses desire those of Zurich to consider what might be done for their relief. Some here observe a marvellous passage of God's providence, that the French and Dutch churches of London had lately made a collection for them, and that the money was come to Geneva by that time that this unexpected banishment fell upon them; so that the city of Geneva may help them awhile without over-burdening themselves.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—I have received none from you by this post; but I had one from Mr. Hartlib, wherein he sent me the proclamation of Feb. 15, against the disturbers of ministers, by which I perceived that many in England continue to convert God's favour into wantonness, and to turn their liberty of religious meetings into a license of disturbing others, of which disease, it may be, some will be cured, if they consider how hard it is in other countries to obtain any manner of favour or connivance. Many letters have come lately, written to the magistrates and citizens of this place, to M.D. and myself, describing the lamentable condition of those poor

exiles of Piedmont (the posterity of those ancient martyrs of Angrogne described in our books of martyrs). Their eyes are generally turned towards my Lord Protector; they say it is not unlikely that he that owns the French reformed churches without their seeking will also shew some signs of compassion on these poorer churches of Piedmont, although they do not petition him, because they would not give their adversaries occasion to cry out that they are traitors, stirring up foreigners against their native prince. I have herewith sent you a copy of the edict mentioned in my last, and of the request which some of their countrymen have made in their behalf. I thought they would be more authentic than their translations, and therefore have sent them as they came to me, but more legibly written. You will easily find one that can translate them, if need be; though now and then there be a touch of the dialect of Piedmont. It seems their hosts that have entertained them despair of a good answer from the Duke of Savoy; for yesterday I received intelligence

From Pinasche, near Pignerol, Feb. 22.—That the people thereabouts arm themselves in their brethren's quarrel, and that they are likely to come to blows shortly; they want a skilful soldier to command them. Some say that some French will join themselves with them. I shall use all possible care to be informed of their proceedings.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. MORLAND.

28 Feb. 1655.

SIR,—Yours of the 13th instant I have received, with the other enclosed papers mentioned therein, and particularly that concerning the 9500*l.*, transmitted to Grenoble. It will be necessary, also, to have an exact account how it has been disposed of from Grenoble amongst the poor people; wherein I desire you to make what haste you can. I hope my last week's letters will come safely to you, because there was something in them of much consequence to be sent to Mr. Pell, which I left to your care to be sent, as I do also this inclosed. We are troubled to hear of the miseries of those poor protestants in Piedmont, and as much to satisfy ourselves which way to relieve them, which I confess is not very obvious, considering by what means they have been led into their present condition; wherein his highness and this state had no hand, as you know. However, they are most willing to put both their hands to help them out of it. It is possible the present affairs of Switzerland may administer something tending thereunto, which is not yet seen; and if God in his providence shall offer anything from thence or otherwise, I trust it will not be neglected. In the meanwhile, there is 2000*l.* more ordered for the relief of their present necessities,

which your letter makes mention of, and this I gave you notice of in my last, as I remember, as I also did of the way of remitting it, whereto I look to receive your answer by the next post, or next but one at farthest ; I will not enlarge, but rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

JO. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. MORLAND.

13th March, 1655.

SIR,—I have received both your letters, one of the 27th, and the other of the 28th of February, with the papers mentioned therein. The last, which gives an account of your treaty for the 7000*l.*, came but this afternoon, so that I can make you no particular account to the matter thereof by this post ; it being requisite that some men of skill do examine the contract, and consider the reasons whereupon it is made before I can signify any approbation thereof. There is but one bill of exchange yet come of 500*l.*, payable at sight, which is ordered to be paid accordingly. For the future, let the bills be at two or three days' sight, because, it being public money, order must be given for the payment before the treasurers can pay the bills. And I would not have

a falter one hour in the payment, according to the time limited in the bills. If you dispose of the monies paid into your hands for profit, it is fit you acquaint us how that is, because it is a matter of great consequence. I have not written to Mr. Pell, forasmuch as there has not anything occurred that doth cause any alteration in the instructions given him in reference to business, and we have nothing of news here ; all we have is in print.

I remain, your affectionate friend,

JO. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

SIR,—This week's letters are not yet come. I received all your former, whereby I do not see that your affairs with the people where you are do much advance. I suppose they do, as others, expect what settlement we shall come to here at home. I hope we are in the way to it now, notwithstanding the alarms we have of the coming of C. S.,* and of the great insurrections we are to look for all over England ; but, blessed be God, we are all in peace, and although C. S. be come from Cologne, in order to prosecute his design, yet I do assure you, the

* Charles Stuart.

nation, upon the alarm and noise thereof, were much more ready to rise against him than for him. The city have raised a militia, by the authority of the Lord Protector, and put it under as trusty officers as are in England, and all the nation is ready to do the like. It is certain there hath been a design for a rising very industriously laid, and arms have been dispersed through the nation upon that account; but we have, through the goodness of God, discovered it, seized very many arms, and the persons concerned in them and the plot; many are committed to the Tower and other prisons.

The French treaty is not yet concluded, but is, in truth, upon doubtful terms; a little time, I think, will let us see what issue it will be brought unto. The King of Portugal's ratification is come, but is not yet delivered: the agent who brought it is to have audience upon Monday. There is here a Poland agent come, but hath not yet appeared in public. They speak yet of the coming hither of a Spanish extraordinary ambassador, but he is not yet come. I think I wrote you word of the imprisoning of Colonel Harrison,* Colonel Rich, Mr. John Carew, Mr. Hugh Courtney; some few men

* Harrison and Carew were among the regicides who were afterwards executed.

are displeased with this, but the generality of the nation is satisfied, as fearing their principles, which, indeed, are very dangerous, though some of the men mean well. The two great crowns are both preparing for the campaign; yet it is said, very privately, they are counselling a peace, and that the Venetian ambassador labours much in it. It is possible you may penetrate very much into it where you are, and therefore I pray take some pains in it. I pray commend me to Mr. J. D.,—when I write to one, I write to both.

I rest, yours assuredly,

ADRIAN PETERS.

(Received March 29, 1655.)

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

16th March, 1654.

SIR,—The design which hath been talked of so much, and relied upon, for bringing the late king's son into England, broke out upon Thursday night last, which was the time they had prefixed for the execution thereof. The design was, to have a general insurrection in all the counties in England at one time; but very few of the counties did rise, and those that did, not answerable at all to their ex-

pectation. In Nottinghamshire* about three hundred horse were got together at a place called Rufford, who brought with them a cart-load of arms, to arm such others as should come in to them ; but finding the country came not in, about twelve o'clock at night, they cried out in a fright they were betrayed, and so shifted every man for himself, leaving the cart to get away as it could ; since which our horse have been ranging the county thereabouts, and have seized many of the chief of the persons that were present at that meeting.

There was likewise two rendezvous of them in Yorkshire, one of them upon Hestam, alias Marston Moor† (the place where twenty-five thousand of them were heretofore soundly beaten) ; and here

* *March 12.*—"A messenger came out of Nottinghamshire, which brought information of a party of four or five hundred cavaliers' horse that were gotten together in the forest of Sherwood, in that county, at a private place in that forest, called Rufford: they had with them a carriage and some arms. There they were consulting in a by-inn how to manage their business ; but a sudden fear taking them, they cried out they were betrayed, and so dispersed themselves."—*Mercurius Politicus*.

† *March 14.*—"Letters came this day from Col. Lilburne, out of the north, certifying that in Northumberland there was another party up ; but, being betrayed by their own fears and jealousies, they dispersed again of themselves. Also, that there was an endeavour in Yorkshire to form a party, many being met for that purpose upon Hessam Moor, with an intent to seize York for Charles Stuart. They had two cartfulls of arms and ammunitions with them, and divers of the gentry, among

was the Lord Wilmot,* whom they call Earl of Rochester, who had commission to command in chief the northern forces. Their intention was to have surprised York, and they expected for that purpose four thousand men to have come in to them there, and had with them four cart-loads of arms to have armed the men with; but all that the Lord Wilmot, Sir Henry Slingsby,† Sir Richard Maleverer,‡ Mr.

whom were Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Richard Maleverer; but they dispersed, perceiving no such appearance as they expected, and Sir Henry Slingsby is taken by Colonel Lilburne. Sir Richard Maleverer escaped home, took his leave of his lady, told her his condition, despaired of his estate, and is fled. Sir William Ingham is also in hold. The Lord Darcy had sent in six horses, with his groom, who will also be secured.”—*Mercurius Politicus*.

From York, March 17.—“Upon Thursday, the 7th instant, all the gentlemen, or very many, in these parts, had appointed that night to meet at Marston Moor, within three miles of this city, who expected to have been four thousand there armed, but there came but three hundred to the place appointed, which when they perceived they were mightily struck with fear. Three men travelling on the moor chanced to lose their way, who holloing one unto another, and keeping a great noise, struck the others into a fear, so that they all dispersed themselves, bidding every one shift for himself, leaving many arms, which were since found thrown in the whins, and all up and down the moor.”—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 249.

* Afterwards Lord Rochester, so notorious as the companion of Charles the Second's debaucheries.

† Sir Henry Slingsby, of the Red House, Yorkshire, near Marston Moor. He had been created a baronet by Charles I. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 8th of June.

‡ Sir Richard Maleverer, bart., of Allerton Maleverer, in Yorkshire.

Hutton, and several other persons, could bring into the field with them were scarce one hundred men, which did so discourage them, that they flung away their arms and dispersed themselves. After some time, there was another appearance of them at Morpeth, who were designed to take Newcastle ; and that party were not above fourscore, and were glad to make all the haste they could for fear of our troops.

Another design they had was upon the town of Shrewsbury ; and for that purpose they were to have had a rendezvous at the very same time, near by, in a park of Sir Thomas Harrison's,* who was to command the party. And others of them were to meet in Montgomeryshire, who were to join with Sir Thomas Harrison ; but the Protector, having timely intelligence of their intention, caused Harrison to be surprised in his house, with many of his partakers, their horse and arms, a few hours before they were to execute their business ; and another party took one Kynaston,† and that was to be the commander of these in Montgomeryshire ; and so all those, both in Shropshire and North Wales, were dissipated.

* Called Sir Thomas Harris in the news pamphlets. Lord Newport was seized about the same time.

† Mr. Ralph Kynaston, who was imprisoned at Shrewsbury, and afterwards sent to London. On the 9th of March, in the news pamphlets, the insurgents in Montgomeryshire were reported to be about eight hundred.

The boldest party of them were in the west, who designed to rise at the same time, and to have begun with the judges at Winchester ; but, being disappointed of the coming of a troop of horse into that town, they deferred their insurrection till the Monday after, when they appeared at Salisbury by two of the clock in the morning, being about two hundred horse. When they came into the town, they seized upon the persons of the judges, and of the high sheriff, and also took their horses, and the horses of the lawyers and others who came thither to attend the assizes, and thereby got an addition to themselves of two hundred horse, and put upon their backs the prisoners which they found in the gaol committed thither for murders and felonies, and several other desperate fellows which they could take up in the town ; and with these they marched unto a hill a mile to the west of Salisbury, leaving the judges behind them upon their paroles,* but the sheriff they carried with them,† because he

* Wagstaffe gave order to hang the judges ; but this barbarous mandate was so little agreeable to his companions, that he was obliged to desist. Clarendon speaks of Wagstaffe's proposal as a "*seasonable* act of severity," the effect of which must have been to cement the party, and "to have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their swords !"

† "They laid violent hands upon Colonel Dove, the high-sheriff of the county, abused and cut him, and carried him away with them. They also attempted his house, but it was stoutly

refused to proclaim Charles the Second upon the aforesaid hill. They drew themselves into four bodies, and expected a great addition of forces from Dorsetshire, and the other western counties ; but, finding very few or none come to them, they made all they could to the west.

The Protector's troops were forty miles from Salisbury at this time, and had no notice of it till Monday night, but yet four troops of them got to Salisbury by Wednesday morning, under the command of Major Boteler, who is in the pursuit of them, and so also is General Desbrow, with seven troops ; but neither of them, by our last letters, had reached them, in respect they made such haste, marching night and day, to escape from the aforesaid troops. The last news we had of these running people was, that they were got as far as Chard, in their way towards Devonshire ; and that they were not above two hundred at most, the rest having forsaken them, and are fain to encourage those that remain with them by telling them that the king is in Cornwall with thirty thousand men ; that all the counties of England are up for them. We are expecting every hour to hear that either our troops are fallen upon them, or that they are

defended and preserved by one Major Wanzey, with about thirty men, who repelled them."—*Mercurius Politicus*. When they left Salisbury the insurgents were reported to be between four and six hundred men.

dispersed by themselves, for it is not easy to imagine how they think to get through Devonshire, we having some horse there, and the county is already up with great numbers, both of horse and foot, to oppose them, as Somersetshire also is ; the gentlemen of which county did in three days raise three thousand men, to have fallen upon them, in case they had come through their county towards Bristol, as was first reported they would endeavour to do ; and that the gentlemen of Somersetshire did this day signify to the Protector, under their hands, with assurances that they would do their uttermost to break them, thinking, indeed, this party of the cavaliers had been much more considerable than they proved to be.

Thus you have the true state of this business, with this further, that all the counties of England would, instead of rising for them, have risen against them ; and the Protector could, if there had been need, have drawn into the field, within fourteen days, twenty thousand men, besides the standing army. So far are they mistaken who dream that the affections of this people are towards the House of Stuart. Whether there will be any endeavours by that party to reinforce themselves we cannot tell. The government here are doing all they can to prevent it, and are putting the nation into a posture of defence, placing the arms in the hands of such as they can perfectly confide in.

Three advantages the Protector has got by this

business : First, he has gained belief among all men that he made not a noise about plots and designs to get money out of the people's purses, but that the danger he had so often spoken of to the nation was real. Secondly, the army and the honest people of the nation are hereby become united. Thirdly, our neighbours abroad, whom the king solicits for aid, do see that that family have no interest in this commonwealth, but that the body of the honest and substantial people are against him. And I may add a fourth : that the people will now the more willingly pay their taxes, in respect they see how unsuccessful the royal party are in their designs. What is become of the king himself, whether he be on this or that side of the water, I do not find it is certainly known, but sure he will appear ere long somewhere. Very many of the persons who have engaged in this business, both in the north and elsewhere, are apprehended ; and some of them have considerable estates, which I might have added a fifth advantage to the Protector, viz. the benefit of confiscations which will be through this business, in case it shall please God to give the like success to the Protector as he hitherto hath done.

I rest, your humble servant,

ADRIAN PETERS.

The city of Bristol, upon the first news of the insurrection in the west, the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, met together in their court, and

voluntarily declared and engaged in writing, whereunto they set their hands, that they would adhere to be faithful to his highness the Lord Protector, and his commonwealth under his government, against Charles Stuart, and all cavaliers, levellers, and others that would disturb the state.

Since my writing, the Protector has received a letter from a captain of the troops in the west,* that he hearing the enemy was marched into Devonshire, and intending to go for Cornwall, did march with his single troop of fifty horse to stop them, hearing their number was but two hundred, and they somewhat tired, and thought to have found them at Collumpton; but they were gone thence, before he came there, to Tiverton, whither he pursued them, but missed them there also, but overtook them at a place called Southmoulton, twelve miles further, and he broke them all to pieces, took fifty prisoners, amongst them Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, three of their captains; Wagstaffe he had not, but hoped to find him when it was light; in the meantime, he has got most of their horses, so that there is an end of that business also.

* This was Colonel Unton Crook, who defeated the insurgents at Southmoulton, and took Penruddock, Groves, and Jones. Wagstaffe escaped out of England. The latter had served in the civil wars under Charles I., and had now been sent secretly into England, with Lord Wilmot, by Charles II., to head the insurrection.

I have received yours of the 24th of February, and also Mr. Dury's of the 19th of February, from Berne, neither of which need any present answer ; besides, we are here so very busy, that all I could get time to do was, to give you the foregoing account of this important business.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—In yours of Feb. 23, I find sufficient reasons for the commitment of H., C., R., and C.* The people of this place are now and then troubled with men of the like principles, but they soon shut them up, that they may not seduce others.

I hear not any further news this week concerning the exiles of Piedmont. The places mentioned in my last letters, you may find in the west side of any map of Piedmont, near the latitude of 44 gr. 10 m., and about twenty-five miles from Turin. From other places they write thus :—

From Vienna, March 10.—The persecution here is now abated again. They meddle not with merchants that are strangers, but they that were born in this country are still troubled. Many revolt to popery for fear. We say here that the German Princes will keep the peace this summer, being assured that the King of Swedes will not trouble them. We believe that the crown of Hungary will be soon set upon the head of the Archduke, for, by apparent satisfactions and great promises, his

* Harrison, Carew, Rich, and Courtney. See before, p. 144.

father, the Emperor, hath gained the greater number of votes. The Emperor keeps his chamber: something is amiss. The physicians are much with him. The Spaniards gather soldiers here, and everywhere, to send to Milan and Naples. Out of Transylvania I hear nothing considerable.

From Cologne, March 4-14.—The English in this city say, that they hope to see King Charles on his throne shortly. They shewed us letters, said to be written at Antwerp, concerning his landing at Hull; that thereupon the Protector was gone from Whitehall into the army; that some thousands of soldiers (I know not from whence) are landed in England to serve King Charles, who had written to his chancellor at Dunkirk, that Fairfax and Harrison had declared for him, with a great part of the army, and many of the chiefest towns in England; that at Dunkirk they heard the continual thundering of the London cannons. But now we doubt that none of all this is true, because other letters assure us, that the king is not yet gone out of the low countries.*

Paris, March 9.—The Queen of England hath been with the French Queen to complain, that in the treaty with England they promise that she shall quit Paris; and all the English of her party shall leave France. To which the French Queen answered, “We must comply with the times.”

From Berne, March 11.—Here we have news that the L. Protector is now in the army, not daring to tarry any longer at Whitehall; though this, and a great deal more like it, came from Cologne and Constance, yet we have a great many here that seem to believe it.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

March 17 or 18, 1655.

SIR,—In yours of Feb. 23, I find an account of the reasons of the commitment of those stiff men, Ha., Ca., Ri., Co.; but where shall I find the reasons

* It seems, therefore, that at Cologne, contrary to Clarendon's assertion, it was well known where the king was.

why their securing displeaseth some that would be thought wise ; or where will those that are displeased find a country where a mere imprisonment would be thought a sufficient punishment for men of such behaviour and principles, especially leading and eminent men ? For I am apt to believe that many of their followers know not what they do, and perceive not what monstrous inconveniences will arise out of such maxims. And, therefore, I hope that, if they were drawn out of England into colonies, the business of plantation would put them upon better employment, and take away their inclinations to mutiny and seditions. Men variously impoverished by the long troubles, full of discontents, and tired by long expectation of amendment, must needs have great propensions to hearken to those that proclaim times of refreshing—a golden age—at hand, &c. Nor is it a wonder that some should willingly listen to those that publish such glad tidings, under the name of the kingdom of Christ and of the saints ; especially when so many prophecies are cited and applied to these times. Some that have heard that the end of Paganism is placed in the year 395, and that then there was not one heathen temple left standing in the Roman empire, will easily be induced to believe that the famous number, 1260, ought to be added to it ; and then this year, 1655, must needs be pointed out for an apocalyptical epocha. Others pitch upon the year 1656, because, having summed up the lives of

the patriarchs in the fifth chapter of Genesis, they find 1656 years from the creation to the flood, and thence infer, that the coming of Christ will be the next year,* because it must be as in the days of Noah. Others will wait three or four years more, hoping that the 1260 years must be reckoned from the death of Theodosius, and the division of the Roman empire between his sons. Nor need we wonder, if we find some confident that eleven years hence we shall see the fatal change, because of the number 666.

So that for some years to come, we must look to have some unquiet spirits make use of these expectations of many well-meaning men, till time shew them such changes in the world as they never imagined; and those brought to pass by instruments better fitted to serve God's providence than the hypocritical or fanatical spirits which of late have been so busy and troublesome.

In the meantime, all those who have not been carried away by the same stream of extravagancy shall do well by their prayers, examples, and other endeavours, to cool the distempers of their seduced brethren, and to render themselves serviceable to those that sit at the stern in such tempestuous weather, which I desire may be the constant resolution of,

Sir, your most humble servant.

* "To 325 (the Council of Nice was in) add 1332, that is, twice 666, the sum will be 1657." *Note in the original.*

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

23rd March, 1655.

SIR,—The business you write of now to be acting in Savoy, concerning the protestants, is a matter of very great consideration ; and I could have wished that the parties most concerned in it had made some representation of it hither, as they have done to Switzerland, because I perceive they are making some address to the duke about it. I pray inform us very particularly what the protestant cantons shall do therein ; and I think it a matter very worthy of your care in a particular manner, to help the poor people with your countenance to the cantons. I pray labour to inform yourself very particularly what the true state of the case is with those protestants, what edicts have been made against them, and upon what grounds, and what they have said, or may say, in their own defence ; my meaning is, to have their whole business, and the copy of what has passed, in writing. Some things I have had from Mr. Dury ; he will tell you what those were. I pray thank him for his last letter, which I find to be very pertinent, and I hope we shall see a good fruit of his negotiation ; and a hearty conjunction between the protestants will be certainly, at this time, not only convenient, but necessary. The popish faction are more enraged against them, and if any arguments do prevail with that party to cement and join

together, it will be, that they may root out the protestants. And I can assure you, they have great hopes to bring France and Spain to agree; and if that be effected, I think the protestants will be driven together. It will be profitable to inculcate this where it appertains, and the danger that must needs ensue, if the protestants divide one from another, and entangle themselves in leagues with popish princes, to the prejudice of their own affairs. I little understand upon what terms we stand in with France. It is certain the likelihood of a peace with them was never less than now; and if it had not pleased God to have given us wonderful success against the cavalier party here upon their rising, whereof you had an account by the last at large, France would have fallen foul with us. Blessed be God, we are all in peace, some hundreds of cavaliers are seized, and some good estates.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

March 25.

SIR,—This post brought me nothing from you; but by other letters I am enabled, in some measure, to contradict the prodigious lies that go for current almost everywhere concerning England, of which my last week's letters give you a taste. The air of this country is not so wholesome, but that a great

number of the inhabitants are infected with the scurvy disease of hearkening gladly to ill-contrived and improbable tales of false news. If his highness do now send forth any public ministers, the greatest part of their time and endeavours must be spent in discrediting the false reports of English news abroad, and in sending true relations of foreign news into England; without this care, all other abilities, all artifices and dexterity in treating, will be unprofitable. Since my last to you, I have received and read some letters, out of which I thought fit to excerpt some passages; as:—

From Paris, March 12-22.—We hear that the Duke of Savoy will not marry Mazarin's niece, so that she is likely to be married to the Duke of Candal (son to the Duke of Esperron), to whom she was promised long since. He is to command the French army in Italy this summer.

I received my money yesterday, that is a whole month sooner than the last time, which I impute, Sir, to your care of your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

March 31.

SIR,—Yours that came two days ago came very seasonably with that large account of the present posture of affairs in England. As much as was fit to be generally communicated hath been extracted, and sent to our friends in all parts round about this

place, to undeceive and quiet them ; many of them being very solicitous for England, and affrighted with so many towns and regiments revolted, &c.

Six days ago, a friend wrote thus from Berne :
“ Your admonition hath discredited the English news sent from Cologne and Constance. An order is taken that no more such news concerning England be printed in this town. He that is appointed to oversee the impression of weekly news, hath to-day shewed me a paper sent to him from the superior council of this canton, requiring great care for the time to come.”

As for the report, that the Venetian ambassador labours to draw the two great cantons to peace ; I have spoken with one that might know of it if it were true ; he says that he doth not believe that that ambassador hath any order to meddle with it. For it is most certain that the Venetians do not love Spain, and that it is their interest to endeavour that Spain may always want leisure to encroach upon them out of the Duchy of Milan. It is true, that if all the Christians of the west were at peace, they might hope for more help against the Turk ; but Spain hath hitherto done nothing for them, nor will Venice easily be brought to hope for Spanish assistance hereafter.

My affairs here move slowly, not only because this people cannot yet account England sufficiently settled, as you conjecture, but also because they

themselves are not sufficiently united, as I touched in the end of my last week's letter to you. But there is reason to hope that these hinderances and all other in time may be taken away ; till God's own time be come, somewhat or other shall always hinder. To his all-sufficient protection and direction I commend you and your employments, and rest,

Sir, your most humble servant.

From Cologne, March 18-28.—We are told that the Duke of York is to command the French army in Italy this summer, and that the Duke of Buckingham* is come to Paris from London, where he discovered all King Charles's design to the Protector, so that he dares not to be seen by the Queen, nor in the streets of Paris.

To-day, there are letters come from King Charles hither to his secretary, but we know not what he writes, nor whence, but his chancellor, (Hyde, I believe), with his wife and some lords, are come from Breda.

From Paris, March 20-30.—The treaty between England and France hath been retarded, not only by the detection of the late conspiracy, but also by the Protector's pretensions upon Canada. The king hath given order to buy ships fit for war in Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, to be employed against Spain as some say ; others say, against England, if the treaty break off.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

6th April, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours this day, dated the 18th of March, and also yours by the last post. I re-

* The person whose vices and talents made him so conspicuous in the reign of Charles II.

ceived likewise one from Mr. Dury, and have very little to say at this time to any of them. I yet see no great matter administered to us here, from affairs with you, to cause any further resolutions for the further improvement of your negotiation ; but it is possible that the providence of God may open a way to that which yet we do not see. In the meantime, you will at least understand the temper and inclinations of that people, and will have opportunity to represent what the dispositions are here, as well towards them as all the protestants, and also let them know the truth of our affairs in civil things.

We are employed here wholly in prosecuting the late rebels, and in finding out the bottom of their design. It pleased God to discover somewhat of it before it broke out openly, and all means were used to prevent it ; but God would have their intentions made manifest, which very few could believe before, and hath thereby very much confirmed and established things in the way they are now in. There are two commissions of Oyer and Terminer issued out for the trial of these rebels, one for the west, and another for the north ; that for the west is to be sit upon next Wednesday, that in the north, upon Monday se'nnight. This is the first time that treasons against the government have been submitted to juries since the year 1646, and we do not doubt but to have good issue of it.

The French ambassador is yet here, but no nearer the conclusion of the treaty, than at this time twelvemonth. We do believe here that France knew very well of the late design here, and had correspondences about it with C. S., and there are many symptoms of it; at the very same time when the rebels did rise here, they seized upon all our merchants' ships and goods in France, by an ordonnance of the council there; but since the rebellion is suppressed, that ordonnance hath been somewhat mitigated. For aught we understand, things are but in a loose condition between these two nations; and they are not all satisfied here of the clearness and sincerity of the proceeding of France in this treaty. Nothing has occurred since, more than what I have troubled you with, therefore

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Sent April 8th.

* * * * *

From Nuremberg, March 17-27.—The last letters from Hamburg say, that the Swedes make great preparations to help the King of Scots; and that the whole circle of Lower Saxony hath no other design for the levies and warlike preparations now made there; that the kindred and allies of Harrison and Overton are very numerous, and are resolved to set them at liberty.

From Cologne, March 25.—Men write from England, that the royalists have taken Salisbury, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Yarmouth, and other places. A person of very great quality assures us, that England generally declares for King Charles; and that the Protector, not daring to stay in London, went to Windsor, yet, changing his mind, came back again to London, but found the gates shut against him.

The last week's news printed at Bern hath left out all the monstrous lies of Cologne and Constance concerning the affairs of England.

Our messenger is not yet returned from Turin; but, by letters from Geneva, we understand that the deputies of the reformed churches of Piedmont have petitioned the Duke of Savoy, and were answered, that a week after Easter they should know what his highness would determine. In the meantime, the said churches have kept a solemn fast, and bound themselves again by oath to continue constant in their union.

From Paris, April 6, (new style.)—King Charles is landed in Yorkshire, where there are many catholics that will hide him, till it be safe for him to appear. The treaty between France and England is nearer to a breach, than to an accommodation.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 14, 1655.

SIR,—M. Dury and I have read yours of March 23, and were glad to see that your affairs at home were not so troublesome as to hinder you from thinking upon the poor Piedmontois. I hope the next week I shall be able to give you a fuller answer to the questions which you ask concerning them. The Duke of Savoy seems to take it very heinously that his subjects complain to foreigners. I think the

cantons intend to answer, that they had the information, not from the sufferers, but from their neighbours of Geneva and Dauphiné, who are none of his subjects. You may be informed concerning Piedmont from some of the preachers of the French and Dutch churches in London, who (as I told you in my letter of March 4) had made a collection for them before they heard anything of their banishment. Besides, there is about London one Monsieur Rubbati, of Piedmont, who can give a more particular account of many things which you may desire to know. Mr. Hartlib will be able to find him out for you, when your leisure will permit you to speak with him. Easter-day produces twenty-four hours of extraordinary haste in our postage, and unforeseen by us, so that our letters must be written in such posthaste, that I have scarce time to read over these two transcripts that I send you herewith enclosed concerning that business; yet it is fit I should do it, and therefore I can only take time to subscribe myself,

Sir, your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

20th April, 1655.

SIR,—I received two from you by this post, one of the 25th, and the other of the 31st of March,

with those enclosed also from Mr. Dury. All that I have to acquaint you with by this post is, the blessing of God to us by our continual peace. The trial of the rebels is not yet over. At Salisbury there are seven condemned to die for high treason, and thirteen more found guilty by the grand jury, which are run away. The commissioners are now sitting at Exeter, where I suppose ten or twelve more will be condemned. We did not think fit to try them all: *pæna ad paucos, metus ad omnes*. The juries found them as readily as if they had been thieves and robbers. M. Coyet, the Swedish agent, has had his audience, and has brought the ratification of the treaty. The treaty with France yet sticks.

I rest, your assured friend,

ADRIAN PETERS.

My true love to Mr. Dury.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 21st, 1655.

SIR,—When I had the last week written to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, in the behalf of a citizen that was going to London, I was told that my letters must be ready sooner by twenty-four hours than they were wont. I was therefore constrained to write to you shorter than I intended. In the read-

ing over the papers which I then sent you, I perceived that the date mentioned in the duke's answer did not agree with the date of the copy which I sent you with it ; I therefore added a second date, but had no time to learn the cause of the difference. I have since inquired concerning it, and find the cause to have been that which I express in the adjoined paper (A.), separated from this letter, that it may be put into the duke's said letter, and kept with it, that the double date may not amuse others.

My last letter gave you occasion to expect a fuller account from me concerning the Piedmontois by this post ; but I am not yet sufficiently informed. The chief magistrates of this city five days ago sent an express to Geneva, praying them to send them a particular account of what the duke lays to the charge of his exiles, and what hath been said in their defence. When they receive a full answer from Geneva, I believe they will not conceal any part of it from me. It is thought the express will return to-morrow. In the meantime, I cannot persuade myself to send you some of the Piedmontese papers which I have by me, because they have relation to some others which I have not yet seen, and without which they cannot be well understood. M. D. hath to-day received a letter from one of the divinity professors of Geneva, with this post script :—

“ A gentleman of Savoy, who wisheth well to this city, hath newly filled us with a rumour, that the Duke of Savoy hath a design to massacre all our other brethren that remain yet in Piedmont;* and that to this end he hath prepared French forces to join with some of his own to fall upon them at un-awares. We are assured that this rumour is true. Howsoever, we judged it necessary to let those our brethren know what we have heard, and to admonish them to look to themselves. We shall endeavour to give you an account of their state, of which we cannot have any great hopes, because we know that their prince (the Duke of Savoy) takes counsel from those that mind nothing so much as the advancement of the pope’s interest, under the pretence of propagating Christian faith.”

The same is confirmed by what another writes from Geneva in French, which I have also enclosed herewith, marked (B.) I have also adjoined a long piece in Latin, which was sent to the chief divine here from another of the divinity professors of Geneva, in which you may perceive a beginning of what may be said in the defence of the poor Piedmontois, of whose affairs I shall say no more at this time, but take my leave, and rest,

Sir, your humble servant.

* It was in the month of April, this year, that the great massacre of the protestant Piedmontese was executed.

Postscript. M. D. had sealed up his letters, and I was going to seal up mine, when news was brought unto me, that the Canton of Berne had sent an express unto the Lords of Zurich, to signify to them that the Duke of Savoy was certainly fallen with an army upon the rest of the poor protestants in Piedmont; so that it will be a great wonder if they be not utterly destroyed, before anybody can come to help them.

From Heidelberg, March 27.—We are very sorry for the affliction of the churches in Piedmont. If any families of good fashion will come into the palatinate, they shall have land, and freedom from taxes, for some years. Our Prince Elector will do it willingly, and they shall be sure of his protection.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

* * * * *

From Heidelberg, April 14.—Prince Rupert, not being able to sit idle, hath engaged himself to raise three regiments for the Duke of Modena, whom he is to serve with the title of general of the foreign troops.

From Paris, April 10-20.—From London they write that all is quiet again in England. That the French ambassador may go thence when he will, without fear that any will pray him to tarry. Monsieur de Querne hath order to view all the coasts of Normandy and Picardy, that if we come to break with England, he may be fit to give account and advice.

From Constance.—Letters from Cologne tell us, that King Charles returned thither upon the 8th of April; but they cannot yet learn where he hath been.

Yours of the 6th of April is come to the hands of
Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

27th April, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours of the 8th of April, and another from Mr. Dury of the same date. I am glad that my former letters came so seasonably to you, for confuting those reports that were of our disturbances here. Blessed be God, those are not only suppressed, but the authors of them are very near receiving their condign punishment; near forty of them are condemned for high treason, being all proceeded against in the way of juries, according to the course of law; and this next week, they will be executed, or at least such of them as his highness will not reprieve. Very many of them besides are in prison, which his highness would have tried. The peace with France is like now to come to a conclusion: I believe a few days will finish it. I am in haste, and can add no more, but that I am

Your assured friend to serve you,

ADRIAN PETERS.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

April 30, 1655.

SIR,—The principal secretary's substitute came to me to signify, in the name of the council, that they had newly received exceeding sad news out of

Piedmont, of which they prayed me to send you a copy, and to add my recommendations of those poor remainders. When the chief of their minister gave me this other enclosed for a French preacher not unknown to you, he told me the council sends this news, not only to the rest of the cantons, but also to the Prince Elector of Heidelberg, and to the United Provinces of the Low Countries ; and that he is to give notice to all the ministers of this canton of the day agreed on to be observed in all the protestant cantons and their allies, even at Geneva, for fasting, and collection of extraordinary alms for their assistance. This I write in great haste that it may be sent by the messengers, who must travel day and night that they may overtake the post before he come to Frankfort, lest a week be lost.

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

4th May, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours of the 14th, and have little more to write to you. Our affairs here continue in quiet and peaceable condition. The late designs of the royal party having had effect only on themselves, thirty-nine of them have been condemned for traitors. Some of them his highness

has reprieved ; his course being to use lenity, rather than severity. About fourteen or fifteen will be executed, and no more ; besides these, many others are in prison which were not tried at all.

The treaty with France was, since my last, very near breaking off, *re infecta*. The ambassador desired audience to take his leave, pretending he would be gone, in respect he had not satisfaction as to some points he insisted upon ; and the Protector appointed him this day, in the afternoon, to give him audience for that purpose ; but this morning he has signified his willingness to sign the treaty as it was offered on this side. What the issue of it will be, you must not expect to hear until the next letter.

I rest, your assured friend,

ADRIAN PETERS.

My hearty affection to Mr. J. D.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

May 6-16.

SIR,—I hope the last post brought you, not only my ordinary of April 28, but also an extraordinary, dated April 30, wherein was one enclosed from Mr. Stoupe, and the copy of another written from Pinæchia, in Piedmont, to the divines of Geneva.

This week I have had little news from them, but this enlarged apology for them from him that made

the former, which I sent you April 21, from which this differs not much, save in some additions. The other is a letter written to the chief divine here, from him that was president in the last synod of Huguenots, at Nismes. It shews in what bad condition those French protestants conceive themselves to be. The void space in that letter I have filled up with an extract of a letter from Lyons, which seems to contain the very newest news from Piedmont :—

From Geneva, April 30.—Of the affairs of Piedmont, since my last, we have no such distinct account as we desire. We shall keep the fast-day agreed upon, May 10-20. We shall begin to-morrow to send collectors from house to house quite through Geneva, to gather what they can, to be sent to those our distressed brethren. In the meantime, we have reinforced all our guards, because we have notice from several places, that there are designs in hand against this town. But our enemies shall not find us so secure and credulous as they desire, though we profess a firm confidence in that God that hath so long and so miraculously preserved us, and a hope that our good friends and allies of Switzerland will be ready to assist us, if need be.

This week, the post brought no letter from you to your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

8th May, 1655.

SIR,—I have received yours, and should have been exceeding glad to have received the certainty

of the condition of those poor protestants in Savoy, since the duke's forces fell upon them. We very much long to know and understand that business particularly; and whether the French forces had any hand in it; and if so, whether the French ambassador in Savoy gave any consent thereto; I desire you to be as inquisitive as you can therein. We should have been also glad to have understood the sense of the protestant cantons as to this massacre, for I can call it no other; and whether their mind is disposed to consult of a proper and effectual means and remedies for the relieving of those poor people. I do assure you it is a matter which his highness lays very much to heart, and will rejoice to hear that other protestants do think themselves concerned in it also. And I do not doubt but you and Mr. Dury will also contribute your utmost endeavours to make the protestants in those parts sensible of this horrid action, and to get a true measure of their intentions about it, and to certify them hither by the first opportunity.

The peace with France is not yet concluded, nor do I believe that this action of Savoy will very much conduce to the promoting of it. The Spanish ambassador remains here, expecting answer to the propositions which he has made. There is a merchant called Coney,* who has made some stir

* Coney was a merchant of London, who refused to pay the usual duties on merchandise, on the plea that they had not



here with the courts of justice, about payment of the customs; and three lawyers speaking with reflection upon the government, and indeed tending to sedition, they are committed to the Tower. Their names are, Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Twysden, and Mr. Windham. Middleton is fled out of Scotland beyond the seas.

I rest, your assured friend to serve you,

J. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

11th May, 1655.

SIR,—I see by your last the sad condition of the poor protestants in the dominions of the Duke of Savoy; as the cruelty of the duke is very great, so I fear the resentment of his protestant neighbours is very little. This fury is in the heart of all the popish princes in Europe, and nothing is wanting but an opportunity that it is not executed. I heartily wish that those concerned herein would lay it to heart; but the Lord's time is best, and he will bring to pass his councils. I should be glad to have a most particular account of that business, and

been imposed by a vote of parliament, according to the ancient constitution. Cromwell suspended the trial after the first day; and, by a mixture of firmness and management, provided against the recurrence of such opposition.

to know what is become of those poor people, for whom our very souls here do bleed.

The French treaty is not yet concluded, nor so likely to be effected as by my last. We have also here a Spanish extraordinary ambassador; he offers terms of an intimate alliance, but what will become of it, a little time will shew. I received Mr. Dury's, and thank him for it, and for the book. I pray let him not take it ill that I do not write to him; I count when I write to one, I write to both.

I rest, your assured friend,

P. HACKER.*

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

May 12, 1655.

SIR,—The last Thursday, that is, May the 10th, the fast was observed all over these countries for the Piedmontois. After the last sermon, they collected in this city almost 800*l.* sterling, which shall be sent to Geneva for them, as soon as the towns and villages of this canton have sent all their collections here.

The same day, a great number of soldiers passed by this city towards France, of which I told the principal secretary's substitute as soon as I saw him that day; he answered, that he had not seen or

* Another pseudonyme used by Secretary Thurloe.

heard them, that they could not be of the canton of Switz, as the people talked—they might be of the other popish cantons. “But,” said he, “the Switenses have newly made a decree against that renovation of the league with France, which was lately signed by some deputies of theirs, protesting they do not hold themselves obliged by it at all; that if their delegates be so false to them as wilfully to go beyond their instructions, or so silly as to allow themselves to be overreached by the French Ambassador, yet they will be so true to their own resolutions and so wise as to refuse to ratify it. And, therefore, they have set their delegates a certain time for the getting of that instrument out of the ambassador’s hands, and have added some threats what they will do, if they have it not by such a day.”

The next morning very early, the younger burgomaster of this city rode out towards Tyrol, three days’ journey hence, to meet the Austrian deputies, to confer with them about giving satisfaction to the demands and grievances of the cantons. There are many documents, records of agreements, to be read over, so that he will be abroad a good while, and therefore M. D. took his last leave of him the evening before, as resolving to be gone hence before the burgomaster could return.

This afternoon (May 12), the principal secretary of this canton came to me, and shewed me letters

which they had received this morning, written to the burgomasters, &c., of all the thirteen cantons, from Cardinal Mazarin, and dated May 4, new style; wherein he tells them, that they could not be ignorant that the intestine disquiets of France had hindered the satisfying of their demands; which now the king was better at leisure to think upon, as they should perceive by his majesty's letter to them, which he thought fit to accompany with one of his own, to assure them that he was their affectionate friend. I asked the secretary, whether the king's letter were such another empty paper as this? He answered, that he knew not what it was, for they had received none but this, so that they knew not whether there was any such letter written by the king or no, or whether the ambassador at Soloturn kept it by him, to send when he thought best. I asked him, whether they would not write to Soloturn to know what was become of the king's letter; he said, "No, we shall try what the ambassador will do. And besides," said he, "we care not much what becomes of it, because we shortly expect the king's answer to the letter that was lately written to him in the name of the protestant cantons alone, calling upon him for satisfying the arrears of our dismissed captains, without any conditions. It was sent about a fortnight ago by an envoy from Zurich; he had order to tarry for an answer."

I then took occasion to speak of the last assembly at Arraw. He said, that there they consulted concerning Piedmont, and had secretly reviewed the old articles of confederacy among themselves, which must receive some alteration to fit them better for these times; that of old, they used once in ten years to renew their oath of mutual defence all over the thirteen cantons; but since the reformation of religion in Switzerland, there had been no general renewing of their oath, because the papists would have all men swear according to the old form (by God and all his saints), which the reformed will not do. But the protestant cantons have now been considering how to amend the defects of the articles of the union among themselves. As for Piedmont, they had commanded a major of Berne presently to ride post to the Duke of Savoy, and to represent their sense of his cruelty towards their brethren, and to offer their interposition for those that are yet alive. They also commanded him to bring back as full informations as he could get concerning their present estate, and the pretended causes of this furious proceeding. I told him, that we know already some of their pretensions, but one of their true causes was, the low esteem Savoy had of the protestant cantons, looking upon them as men that had little power and no courage to put out the strength they have; standing so much in awe of their popish neighbours, that they dare not budge a foot in favour

of any protestant church, lest the popish cantons should fall upon them. He replied, that their *concordia discors* had hitherto saved them ; “ for,” said he, “ had we been all of one religion, we could not have been kept from intermeddling with the late German war, that undid almost all that had to do with it ; but being so divided, we hindered our neighbours from assisting the Emperor, and they hindered us from taking the contrary side. But,” said he, “ the truth is, the popish cantons are no less in amity with Savoy than we, so that we cannot hurt him without giving them occasion to fall out with us. We have many men that, at the reading of the letters concerning Piedmont, think of nothing but invading Savoy, or massacreing all the Savoyards that are in these countries ; but few of them consider that we are not able to find money enough to make us fit to invade any other prince’s dominions, and, indeed, it is the only thing we want, for we have men enough and arms, as they shall find, if they meddle with Geneva, as some seem to fear they will.” I replied, that Geneva might be eaten up, before they could agree to succour it. He said, that the posts were so well settled, that in thrice twenty-four hours, Zurich would have news from Geneva, and by the way, Berne should hear it sooner. Their militia was in such a good order, that in two or three days, they could have a great number of men (trained bands), whereof everyone

brought his arms with him ; and Geneva is very well fortified, and well provided for all things requisite for the enduring a long siege, so they cannot be overrun before succours come to them. “ But,” said I, “ if Geneva should need you, would not the greater number among you answer, ‘ We cannot, for want of money : we dare not, for fear of our popish neighbours ? ’ ” He said, “ Geneva being so near, they should strain themselves very much for so short a time as seemed sufficient to drive away any forces that should come to attack it.” I replied, “ if you had never so much money, you might still pretend a fear of provoking the popish cantons.” “ No,” said he, “ they have no money, nor no means to get any considerable sum ; we have had money, but extraordinary occasions have lately spent it ; if that defect did not now hinder, we should not look upon the popish cantons as *in æquilibrio* with ourselves ; but should a great deal more readily resolve to teach the Duke of Savoy, that our intercessional letters and our friendship deserved more regard.” I answered, that they wanting no men, nor arms, and their magazines being well stored with all sorts of weapons, &c., less money would serve their turns to begin a war than other nations that have nothing beforehand but the great purse. He confessed, that was true ; but to keep their people from discontents and disorders, they must be punctually paid. I replied, that when they came

into a country where they meant to exercise all sorts of hostility, they must make their enemies bear the greatest part of the charge.

I should tire you with more of this dialogue, if the post would give leave: I must trouble you no further at this time, yet, for all his haste, I will take so much time as to subscribe myself,

Sir, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—The French sheet which I sent you last week was brought me so late that I had not time to read it over, or to say anything concerning it; otherwise, I should have prayed you to consider that letter of Servient, the French ambassador at Turin. It plainly shews, that he knew of the whole design, as the French horse had a principal hand in acting it. Monsieur Servient wrote that letter to the Huguenots that live under the protection of the French garrisons in Piedmont, and therefore some that escaped in the massacres of the valleys went into the French quarters, thinking themselves safe there; but see what they write:—

From Grenoble, May 6-16.—The French and Piedmontese persecutors are fallen into the valley of Pragela which belongs to the French; they intend to destroy all those that were fled thither; they burned twelve houses there, and had proceeded

further, if the inhabitants had not resisted them. Those of that valley presently sent a deputy to the Duke of Lesdiguières to complain. There are yet eight hundred Piedmontois in arms. They have made a deduction or large narration of the true state of the business, to shew the falsehood of that which was printed concerning them in the weekly news of France.

From Zurich, May 19.—Yesterday, about noon, Mr. D. left Zurich with no intention ever to see it again. When he comes to Basil, he will consider what way to take next.

The news of the peace concluded between England and France is confidently affirmed by many here. Formerly, they would have been more glad to hear such news than now, because they now begin to take up thoughts of war with all their popish neighbours; they are roused by the business of Piedmont, and the noise of a design upon Geneva. The lower and the younger sort speak high and openly, but those of more experience and authority are considerate and more secret: they fear they shall not be able to do much for want of money. A few years ago, Zurich had one hundred thousand pounds sterling in their treasury more than they have now; they spent it upon fortifying their town, and assisting their neighbours in the last rebellion. They can make great levies of sure men among the protestants of Glaris and the Grisons, but not without money; they would be loath their enemies should know the low estate of their purse, but their friends will consider it, and not wonder at the inactiveness of those whose hands are bound up with the want of necessary requisites for action. If the peace be concluded, they hope his highness hath included all the protestant cantons.

I have received yours of April 17.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

25 May, 1655.

SIR,—I received two of yours by the same post; that of the 30th, which you expected should have

come the last week, came not until this ; by both I see the barbarous and inhuman cruelties which are exercised towards the poor protestants in the valleys of Piedmont. It doth very much afflict his highness, and so it doth indeed this whole nation ; and I hope nothing will be omitted which can be put in practice for their relief. There is a fast appointed and a general collection through the whole nation. His highness hath also writ unto the Duke of Savoy in their behalf ; a copy of the letter you will receive herewith. He hath also writ to the King of France to mediate with the duke, and to all protestant princes complaining of this horrible massacre, as, to the King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, the States General, and also the six protestant cantons ; the letter to them you will receive herewith, which you are to deliver to them. I have also sent unto you the copy thereof, that you may see what is writ ; upon the delivery of it you may, by word of mouth, further explain the great grief and trouble his highness hath for this slaughter of these poor innocent people. The copy of the letter to the Duke of Savoy which I have sent you, I desire that you would not let it go out of your hands, nor any copies taken of it, until you hear that his highness's messenger is arrived at Turin, because I would have it secret at that court before the original be presented. I pray acquaint Mr. D. that I have also received his papers, and am very glad his

negotiation hath so good success. I believe we shall all at length see the need we have of a union, and that a cordial one too ; what is executed upon the poor Piedmontois is intended against us all, as they have opportunity and means. It is, I think, a great duty that both yourself and Mr. Dury take this sad occasion to press upon the protestants to be awake, and to join together for the common defence ; and I doubt not of your endeavours therein. We have yet concluded no peace with France, nor done anything with Spain. I have not anything to write of news by this post.

I rest, yours most affectionately, J. T.

My service to Mr. D.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

May 26, 1655.

SIR,—As soon as I had received yours of May 4th, I sent the greatest part of it in Dutch to some principal persons here. It confirmed them in the belief of that common report, that the treaty with France was very near a friendly conclusion ; this gave them reason to inquire of their chief secretary, whether he had delivered me the memorials which he had written a good while before. What his answers and excuses were, I know not ; but they sent him to me with the papers. They were both in

High Dutch only. He told me, that the greater of them concerned Rhætia, and our treaty with Spain; and was but a copy of that which they had given to M. D. about ten days before he left this city. The lesser concerned all the protestant cantons and their allies, wherein they prayed me to represent to his highness their desire to be included on the part of England in the treaty with France. With the rest of our discourse I will not trouble you at this time. When he was gone, I considered that you might desire to see, at least, the copies of those memorials, so I caused the lesser to be translated into Latin by one of their own professors, which I also keep by me as authentic; but I have written it out, and sent you herewith. I have also adjoined the Dutch, that if you please to try how near the translation comes to the sense, you may cause any one that understands High Dutch to translate it into English, and then compare it with the Latin: as for the other memorial, I have written to M. D. concerning it, that if he have not sent it, I may.

This other discourse in French is not so fairly written as I could have had it, if it had come to my hands more timely; but you will easily find some one that can read French, who will be willing to write it out carefully and more legibly; it is a defence of the Piedmontois, of whom I have not heard any great news this week, save that about four thousand of them keep together still, with a

resolution to sell their lives very dear, and not to suffer themselves to be murdered or scattered so easily as the others have done.

Whilst I am writing, other letters are come from those quarters, as :—

From Geneva, May 22.—It was the Marquis of San Damian, a Savoyard, and son-in-law to the Marquis of Pianetta, that made that irruption into the valley of Praguela (though it be subject to the French), when he burned twelve houses of those of our religion, and killed three men, saying, that they had harboured those that were escaped from the slaughter in the other valleys ; but those of Praguela suffered him not to pass further, but sent their complaints to the Duke of Lesdiguières, the governor of Dauphiné, whose answer was little to the purpose, and not worth writing. Some troops of the Duke of Savoy attempted a second irruption, but the inhabitants of the valley of Praguela repulsed them. They extremely wonder to see Savoy dare to offer violence in any part that is not subject to the duke, but to the French king ; but the connivance and collusion of the French is manifest enough in this business. But the court of Turin begins to see that they have begun a piece of work that they know not how to end. How far strangers may ever meddle, they know not ; they know already that their fugitive heretics are not all killed, but that they have chosen two captains, Jayer and Jenavel ; Jayer hath between seven and eight hundred men under his command, and Joshua Jenavel about four hundred that play the men, and dare look a far greater number in the face.

Sir, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—By a letter from P. Hacker, dated May 11th, I understood there was a new stop in the

French treaty, and that the Spanish extraordinary ambassador makes great offers to England. I will not take upon me to see to the bottom of either of their treaties, but I know that this pope professeth an earnest desire to conclude a peace between them, and indeed to compose the quarrels of all the popish crowns and princes, to which end he hath published a proclamation of an universal jubilee for all that pray for such a peace. I have read that proclamation, reprinted in Latin at Lucerne, by the command of Borromeo, the pope's nuncio for Switzerland. Without doubt the nuncio in France will cause infinite numbers of copies to be reprinted there also, so that you may easily get one from Calais, and therefore I shall not need to send one to you from hence. But I may add, that this pope pretends to more holiness and justice than the officers of the court of Rome can endure, so that I am apt to think, that they wish him dead already ; sure I am, that in many places of France, prophecies have been scattered, that this pope shall not outlive the next month. As for the memorial mentioned in my last concerning the Grisons, if I do not misunderstand M. D., he will send it to you.

This week, one of the burgomasters gave me a visit. He said, that he hoped that their business with the Austrians concerning imposts, &c., was brought to a good conclusion, and that, perhaps, the French

ambassador will bring his king's letter to them at their general meeting at Baden, June 18-28 ; that the treaty between France and the protestant cantons is in no greater forwardness now, than it was two or three years ago ; that they would be paid all their claims before they speak of renewing, because they dare not trust French promises, and do verily believe, that if they should first renew, they should not get the thirtieth part of what they claim now. He told me, that Cardinal Mazarin had written to the Duke of Savoy, blaming him, not for dealing so cruelly with the Piedmontois, but for choosing no better time to do it in ; that it was now altogether unseasonable.

Two days after, one of the secretaries came to me, telling me the senate had commanded him to communicate two letters to me. They were both from the Prince Elector of Heidelberg, in answer to two letters which the protestant cantons had written to him ; the one concerning M. D., from whose person he shews a manifest aversion, and the more for England's sake ; the other concerning the Piedmontois, for whom, he says, he is sorry, and will give land to them that will come to him, but his country is not in case to afford them any pecuniary assistance.

M. D. writes to me, that he is resolved not to go near Heidelberg. The electors resident at Basil told him, that Prince Rupert was not likely to go

into Italy, but the citizens of Bern say, he passed through their town incognito, and is gone to Modena, to be general of that army. A little time will discover whether these conjectures be true or no.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

8th June, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours by the last post, and am glad to find that the protestant cantons have taken the miseries of the poor Piedmontois so much to heart, as to send a serious embassy about it to the duke; and especially that they intend to back it with their arms, wherein no question they will be successful, having so good a cause to engage in, and that which all good Christians will assert with them. And it were of a great moment for the P. (Protector) here to understand fully their intentions therein, very particularly as also in what you write, that they are upon counsels of making war with all their popish neighbours. Certainly they will find others willing to communicate with them upon such counsels, and to bear their share in whatever should be agreed upon. I desire you to inform yourself very particularly in these points, and be very careful to communicate things fully hither. I writ you by my last, that his highness had sent an envoy to the Duke of Savoy, and sent you

a copy of the letter to be carried with him, and that he had also writ to the French king. He hath received an answer from France, whereby he disowns any knowledge of his troops being engaged therein, and promiseth to mediate in their behalf. However, the treaty is not concluded with France, but is upon very doubtful terms ; and if the cantons would speak out, and freely declare what their intentions were, the better measures might be taken here. The fast and collection for the poor Piedmontois is to be upon next Thursday ; I hope the collection will be liberal. In the meantime, his highness hath sent out of his own purse unto Geneva 2000*l.*, to be distributed amongst them for their relief ; here is no alteration of affairs since my last, nor no news.

I rest, your affectionate servant, T.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 9th, 1655.

From Zurich, June 4.—Two days ago, the post from Geneva brought us many particulars concerning Piedmont, of which we had heard little before. Several men use several expressions, but the sum of all is comprehended in these two following letters :—

I. When the army was gone out of the valleys of Piedmont, our brethren returned into them, but found that the army had burnt all that they could not carry away ; wherefore the poor men were constrained to seek meat where it was to be had ; and, for their own safety, to beat up the nearest quarters of their

enemies, and to destroy the places where they had lodged garri-sons. San Secondo being so near, was soon thought upon, yet the first time they ruined but a part of it, and killed not many of the inhabitants. Among them were two monks, whose dead bodies were carried in a cart to Turin, there to be shewn publicly, to provoke the citizens to revenge. Captain Mayer was sorry that they had killed them, but it was not in his power to hold the hands of all his enraged soldiers, who had not forgotten their kindred so lately massacred. But the next time that they came to San Secondo, they found that, after their departure, some of their fellows had been there cruelly *crucified*, I mean, nailed up to trees, and so let hang till they were dead. No wonder, then, the town suffered the effects of their fury. They plundered it quite empty. To the women and children they did no manner of hurt, but they killed all the men they found in it; then firing the town in all places, they made the castle too hot for the hundred Irish that kept it, so that they leaped down out of the castle-windows into the court, from whence not one of them escaped alive. They burned and utterly ruined the castle, knowing that it belonged to Count Aurelio, one of the principal authors of that massacre. If these men had more help, and able commanders, there were hope that they might dislodge the other Irish, and make themselves masters of La Torre, Bobbio, and the fort of Mirabone. Money hath been sent them, which helpeth to maintain their widows, fatherless, and impotent, that they be not too burdensome to their friends; whilst themselves have no other subsistence but what they fetch from their enemies with extreme danger. And it is to be feared that, before any harvest be ripe, all will be consumed thereabout, so that a dearth will miserably pinch them, if a famine destroy them not: yet they desire to tarry there, and to run very great hazards, rather than to leave their lands and native country; and to give the papists cause to boast that now, at the last, they had driven them out of their nests in the rocks, which so many hundred years they had possessed. Rome expressed great signs of joy for clearing Calabria and the Valto-line of our brethren, and is now in hope to rid Piedmont of them, to increase the gladness of their extraordinary jubilee this

year. But their expected triumph would be turned into sad processions, if, instead of rooting out their old Italian inland churches, they should see an English colony planted in one of their sea-towns, which seems not impossible to be effected, if England would but attempt it. We hear that the Lord Protector intends to offer them lands and money to bear the charges of the journey thither, and that some public minister is coming from London to Turin. We hope that he will not begin at court to mention their transmigration, but first press their restitution; and if there be no means to procure their safe and peaceable re-establishment, then to speak of their quiet transplantation. We have also some hope that it will be possible to persuade the court of France, that it is the king's interest to re-establish and support them, to help to balance the Spanish faction in Piedmont; for he may be assured that our brethren are, and will be, averse from Spain. It is not unlikely that some such thing hath been considered at Paris, for we hear that the Marquis of St. André Membrun (who is of the reformed religion) is appointed to be lieutenant-general of the French army in Piedmont, and that he hath promised to employ his power and authority vigorously in the behalf of our brethren. His brother, Monsieur de Ville Franche, would fain be employed in some diversion for their advantage, and truly a diversion will be necessary, if that be true which is newly written from Grenoble, that the Duke hath raised all the trained bands and whole militia of Piedmont against our brethren.

Another from Geneva the same day.—II. We hear that some of Dauphiné and Languedoc have joined themselves with our brethren of the valleys of Piedmont. In time, their number may become considerable by such accessions. They say, that the Duchess (mother to the Duke of Savoy, and sister to the Queen of England,) asked her confessor, whether she should be accountable to God for the massacre of the valleys? He wrote of this into Spain; his letters were intercepted, so she came to know what a secret ghostly father she had. Whereupon she sent him to the castle of Niolons, out of which scarce ever any man comes to liberty, or public execution; but is fed there till he die of himself, or be privately made away.

From Zurich, June 8-18.—This day, our senate sent a senator, with one of their secretaries, to the English agent's lodging, to give him thanks for his care in recommending the low condition of the Piedmontois, as they desired him; and also to thank him for communicating to them so much of his English letters, as made them perceive how much his highness did lay that business to heart; adding, that for their own parts, they should be ready to do whatsoever was in their power, by praying for them, advising them, recommending them to all that were likely to help them, interceding for them with their prince, and frequent supplying them with money. But in a way of war, all that they yet would do for them was, to hinder the popish cantons from intermeddling. For if upon this occasion the duke shall call upon the popish cantons for help, according to that auxiliary league which they have made with him, the other cantons are resolved by admonitions and threatenings to hinder the papists from doing anything for him; or if they do, to fall upon them by force, though it should cost them a civil war. But the protestant cantons would not give the first blow, and so undergo the infamy of breaking the league. More than this they cannot resolve upon, till they have heard what report will be made by Major Wyss, whom they sent to Turin. He returned to Bern, June 2, but no account of his negotiation is yet come to Zurich.

SIR,—In these enclosed, especially the eighth page, you will find what I have to answer to yours, dated 18th May. Your humble servant.

Upon a loose paper.—P. S. By leaving my letters as long as the post would permit, I am able to add, that the senate of Zurich hath received letters from Bern which caused them to meet, and decree to write to the other three protestant cities, to give them a meeting at Arraw the next Friday (that

will be June 15th, old style), to consult concerning no other business than that of Piedmont. Amongst other heads, this is one: what the cantons will resolve to do, in case M. L. Protector make war upon those murderers. I have not time to add any further particulars.

MR. J. H. HUMMEL TO MR. PELL.

10th June, 1655.

SIR,—As I have been careful at every time to prevent whatsoever tends to the disparagement of the republic of England, so I now with much sorrow understand out of yours, that our gazetteers in our ordinary tidings, marked Nos. 20, 21, 22, did write falsehood, hurtful falsehood, which is the worst,—mere lies joined with calumny. The many businesses I have to perform, depending from my calling, do not permit unto me to read over every week our tidings, neither do I much care for them, knowing what counterfeit news we usually have. Know therefore that I never did read those forenamed tidings; but now comparing them with your letter, I see there is a great difference. By this I shall take occasion to read the tidings more frequently, to endeavour that such lies be not printed. The gazetteer, who hitherto be as unknown to me as unto you, seems, indeed, to be a friend to the

Duke of Savoy, or at least a friend to his friends. But I think that this warning (though I might wish it had never been given to the Duke of Savoy) to fortify Nizza and Villa Franca, will not much serve to his advantage. For I hope the Lord Protector, as he hath care for all the protestant churches, so he will not leave this people in his extremity, let the Duke of Savoy fortify whatsoever he will. Sir, if you would be so good to communicate sometimes tidings coming out of England unto me, especially those which you think worth printing, as profitable for your and our religion, and tending to the advancement of the truth, I hope we should not have tidings as we have hitherto ; but I leave it to your wise discretion, and remain,

Sir, your faithful servant,

JOHN HENRY HUMMEL.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 16, 1655.

SIR,—In mine of June 3rd, I mentioned a treatise, whereof the printer hath now finished the first sheet, and sent me this copy of it, to put into my letters. But he had so pared the margins of it, that I was constrained to cut my paper out of the ordinary shape of my letters, that they might be fit to lie under one cover with that printed sheet.

I hope the next week I shall have two sheets more to send you. I make no question but that there will be another relation printed somewhere, as much in defence of the duke, as this is in favour of the poor exiles. In his letter, of which I here send you a copy, he speaks of a relation which he gave to Monsieur Wyss. That relation will come abroad in time, with cross notes upon it. I have added another French letter from Geneva which makes mention of two letters sent hither, one written at Grenoble, the other printed there. I have not their copies to send you, and therefore I pray you to accept of the extracts that I made out of them when I read them over.

The printed letter was dated June 1, 1655, and superscribed thus :—

“ A letter from the king, written to my Lord the Duke of Lesdiguières, upon occasion of that which hath lately happened in the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and other neighbouring places. In it the French king denies that he knew anything of that design ; but hath been informed from his aunt the Duchess of Savoy, and from his brother the duke, her son, that it was not for religion, but for a mere disobedience and a contempt of some orders of his brother the duke ; and his ambassador in Piedmont hath written to him, that this trouble is at present wholly appeased. That his will is that those who have escaped into any

quarters obedient to France shall continue there in all freedom and security, provided that neither they nor any of his subjects attempt any hostility against the subjects or troops of Savoy.

SIR,—After I had made up my letters in another form, the secretary sent me this with the great seal, which, that I might the better hide, I opened mine again, and laid them thus. The post will hardly give me time to tell you, that the same man that went before to Turin as an envoy is to go again three days hence with the title of deputy. His business is to signify, that an embassy of four men (from each of the four principal cities, one) is preparing to come to Turin to treat a composition, and will set forward from Bern on the eleventh of July next. They would be glad to meet there some public ministers of other protestant princes.

Translated out of Italian by J. P.—The Marquis of Pianessa, knight of the order,* and general of the foot of his highness royal. By virtue of the authority which we hold from his highness royal, we grant leave to James Grande of Bobbio, with his wife and one daughter, (in consideration of the testimonial of his catholicization, signed by the right reverend father, the prefect of the missions,) to dwell in that place of Bobbio, and that house which he dwelt in at the beginning of these troubles, and to enjoy the fruits of his goods whereof he was then in possession; with security of his person, notwithstanding the crime of rebellion into which he was fallen, and thereby

* “That is to say, Knight of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary; for that is the order proper to Savoy.”—*Note in the original.*

deserved death and confiscation of all his goods. Which punishments, both real and personal, his royal highness intends graciously to suspend, in regard of the aforesaid catholicization, but deferring the entire remission of his life and goods (forfeited as above said) till two years hence, for a trial, whether during that time he shall appear a good catholic, and not disobey any orders of his royal highness. And whensoever he shall return to heresy, and commit the crime of new disobedience, he shall be, not only deprived of the benefit of this present grant, but also (as a rebel against both the divine and humane majesty) be deprived of his life, and all his goods, houses, lands, and profits of what kind soever.

Dated in the town of Lucerne, the 4th of May, 1655.

(Subscribed), CLAUDIO DI SIMIANE BERTINE.

The Prefect's Testimonial.—I, under written, attest, that James Grande of Bobbio, with his wife and one daughter, having abjured the heresy of Calvin, hath submitted to the true faith and obedience of the Roman church, promising to live and die in it.

Dated La Torre, 3rd May, 1655.

FRIER PROSPERO DA TARASSO, Apostolical Prefect.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 23rd, 1655.

SIR,—My last letter was of no ordinary shape, that it might conform to the enclosed answer to the principal of those which you sent me May 25. His highness's letter was first opened by the senate of Zurich, and by them sent to the deputies of the four chief protestant cantons, then newly met at Arraw, concerning the business of Piedmont. They looked upon it with some amazement, as if it had dropt from heaven among them, because those of Zurich knew nothing of it in the morning, when

they went from home ; and it overtook them in the evening, by that time they came to Arraw. There they consulted what to do, and what to write. The answer which I sent you was drawn up by their order, but written at Zurich, and sent to me when my letters were sealed up. I hope they and it are come safe to your hands. Two days after, the secretary sent me a copy of it, which occasion I laid hold on to visit the younger burgomaster who had been at Arraw. I told him, that their letter answered the longer part of his highness's letter which expresseth some hope of obtaining our desire in Savoy, but it seemed to take no great notice of his highness's conclusion, (*sin illi in mentem secus venerit, communicare vobiscum consilia parati sumus, qua potissimum ratione, etc.*) Besides another passage, five or six lines before, (*ne quid serpat latius, ne quid periculi exemplo atque eventu vel nobis omnibus creari possit mature prospiciamus.*) I said, they had not done amiss to break their answer in two, replying first to that which seemed of most haste ; and I hoped they intended to think upon the rest speedily. For they could not but see that the papists want nothing but power and opportunity to deal with us all after the same manner ; and therefore it was high time for us to think seriously of conjunction of counsels. Thereupon, I asked him, whether it were not possible for them to join counsels with England. He said, it was not only possible, but easy, if his high-

ness would send one to meet their ambassadors at Turin. I interrupted him, and replied, that Turin would not be a fit place to consult about that greater scope, *ne quid serpat latius, etc.* The joining counsels to that end seemed necessary, and not to be deferred. If nothing hindered them from it, but the unfitness of the agent now at Zurich, they might do well to signify that hinderance to his highness, who could easily remove it. He answered, that they desired not any other to treat withal, and that the agent was likely to stay long among them, if he returned not till they wrote to have him recalled. I asked him, whether it be not high time to begin such consultations before this gangrene spread further? "Truly," said he, "it spreads already. Wallis (Valesia) is one of the greatest provinces of Helvetia, and confederate with the cantons; they have some protestants among them whom they have many ways oppressed and persecuted before now. But now," said he, "within these ten days, they have published an edict, warning all that are not papists to get them out of the country within three months." I answered, that I had heard that the papists in Turgow began to stir. "Yes," said he, "we shall speak of that at Baden this next week." I replied, "The fire draws near you,—Wallis on one side, Turgow on the other; the Grisons that lie between them are ready to go together by the ears for the same reason. The

evangelical cantons will be forced to take up arms whether they will or no." "Truly," said he, "if the cantons take up arms against one another, the danger of Germany will be very great. Victory is in the hands of God ; if it please him to grant it to the popish cantons, all the evangelical churches of Germany will feel the smart of our wounds." I replied, "These are things, that England, though it be awake, cannot see altogether so well as ye that are near. If ye apprehend these dangers, and think fit to join counsels with us before it be too late, be pleased to make a beginning, and be a little more particular, that I may better perceive what I have to do further." He said, he would think upon it, and acquaint some others with my motion. I thought not fit to press him further at that time, lest I should force him to say that to me which I knew he had rather leave for some other man to say in that business ; therefore I fell again to speak of the Piedmontois. He named their ambassadors and secretary that are to go from Zurich, July 8th, that so they may be ready to go from Bern with the rest upon July the 11th. I said, that the time of harvest would be lost before they could get to Turin. He replied, that Major Wyss was sent before with order to urge a cessation of arms, and liberty for the Waldenses to gather in their corn. I asked, whether the major seemed to think that such liberty might be obtained for them.

He said, "Yes ; for when he was there before, the papists of Piedmont came about him, entreating him to use all his endeavours to come to a pacification ; ' for,' said they, ' there is no living in this manner ;' and," said he, " Savoy is much afraid of us. The duke hath sent one to the popish cantons to make a long narration of the state of his affairs, and to pray them to continue their good affections to him. Many of the nobility and gentry of Savoy are, for fear, removed into places which they think more safe. We believe," said he, " the duke will be desirous of a cessation, that his soldiery may be at leisure to do other service for the French and Modena according to his promise. For now the Waldenses find the duke's forces work enough to attend their motions, and to hinder them."

Sir, I have sent you the remainder of the printed book whose first sheet I sent you the last week. This week there came no letter from you to your humble servant.

MR. J. H. HUMMEL TO MR. PELL.

24th June, 1655.

SIR,—Yours, dated the 21st of June, have I received the 24th of the same. I thank you very heartily for your kind and loving answer, and your direction to send letters to Mr. Dury, which I will

observe accordingly. Our gazetteer hath in his last nothing at all out of London; but another great solecism is to be found in his news, lately printed in this city, concerning *beide Churfursten von Mentz und Heidelberg . . . Strasburg . . . 13th and 23rd June*; both these hath our gazetteer offended in some ecclesiastical and political orders, and his patrons too; so I hope the abolition of these news.

Sir, I have largely and confidently written concerning the alliance with France to Junker Schenberg. I pray keep it with you, and observe whether he will communicate it with you; if not, you shall have it next week, please God, and something more, for there is no peril yet in the procrastination of these tidings; and if I can serve your worship in anything tending to one common safety of the gospel professors, in these and other places, I shall not be sparing. I can perceive out of yours that you are in hope to receive letters from Mr. Dury, therefore I will stay with my writings till the next, else have I reasons enough to communicate with him. In the meantime, I commend your worship to the heavenly protection of our great God,

And remain, your dutiful and faithful servant,

J. H. HUMMEL.

Pray, Sir, pardon my broken English: it is for want of exercise.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

29th June, 1655.

SIR,—Your letters by this post are arrived, but I, being very ill, have not been able to read them. Our treaty with France stands still, and it is very uncertain what will be the issue of it. His highness hath demanded that the French king would agree to this treaty; that he, nor none of his people, give no assistance, counsel, or aid, unto the Duke of Savoy against the protestants of the valley. His ambassador here hath not yet given any answer unto it, but makes great difficulty therein; but in case he refuseth to do it, I fear much the peace. It were very good that the minds of the protestant cantons were known in this whole business; and what their opinion and judgment is concerning the protestant cause, and of this opportunity for a hearty conjunction in the maintenance of it; for it is without question that the popish party hath laid the axe to the root of it. This of Savoy was but the beginning of their counsels about it. We have no news here; and I, being ill, will not enlarge further, but remain,

Your affectionate friend,

ADRIAN PETERS.

P.S. We have yet no news of the arrival of the messenger which the Protector sent to Turin on the behalf of the protestants, but hear that the

commissioners that were sent from Bern to the Duke of Savoy, hath put some discouragement upon the poor protestants that were in war for their own defence, after so cruel a massacre ; if it be so, it is very sad.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

June 30, 1655.

SIR,—By yours of June 8, I perceived that you had received mine of May 19. Those that I have written since will let you see that the chiefs of this people make no haste to take up arms against Savoy. The French ambassador is now at Baden, because of the general yearly meeting of all the cantons there. It is thought they will return about a fortnight hence. We shall then hope to hear how well the popish deputies agreed with the rest, and what progress the French ambassador made in his business with them all. The deputies for this canton are, the burgomaster mentioned in my last, and one of the treasurers, who, before he went to Baden, came to my lodging to take his leave. He told me, the burgomaster had acquainted him with my motion concerning conjunction of counsels for common safety. He said, that he should hearken to such a consultation most willingly ; but many must not intermeddle in such counsels at the first.

He named some men to whom I might speak freely, without fear that they would mar all by discovering anything before its time. He thanked me for recommending the Piedmontois to his highness. I answered, that little thanks could be due to me for anything that I had done ; for the seriousness and forwardness of his highness and the counsel was not to be imputed to any pathetic recommendation from me, because I contented myself to send intelligible narrations of what I could learn concerning them, and had not endeavoured to write like one that would move affections in those that want zeal or readiness to succour such proper objects of compassion. He said, that the last letters from Geneva, Grenoble, &c., did represent a necessity of making haste ; and therefore the cantons would urge their ambassadors to be gone sooner than was at the first resolved. The letters from Geneva, dated June 22, to the former reasons add this : that an English deputy was come to Turin, with letters to the duke from his highness, and they feared he would be gone thence before the cantons' embassy could get thither, unless they began their journey before the appointed day, July 11.

To-day* the pro-consul that is to go ambassador from hence came to my lodging to bid me farewell, telling me, that they were very sensible of the great

* The thirtieth of June.

advantage they should have in treating by my Lord Protector's appearing in it, and therefore they desired to make as much use of the English deputy's presence at Turin as they could, to whom he prayed me to write by them, and to recommend the business and their embassy to him. I replied, that I knew of no deputy there ; that I had heard of an envoy sent thither with a letter, and, for aught I knew, without sufficient instructions for a formal treaty. When their letters from Turin had assured me that he was not gone nor going thence, and that they believed my letters might conduce to that work, I should not be backward to contribute whatsoever was in my power ; but I thought they would not find him there. He said, that they meant to be going hence the next Monday, that is, July 2nd (six days sooner than was first intended) ; and that, to gain more time, they would not go to Bern, but make their first meeting-place at Geneva, about Friday, July 6th ; so that they might perhaps be at Turin by July 12th or 13th, and we might hear of their arrival by the ordinary post, July 20th.

The secretary of the embassy was with him. He shewed me a second letter from the Hague to the cantons concerning Piedmont, received two days ago, but dated June 7th, in which the states-general signify what orders they have sent to their ambassador in France ; and that they commanded their ambassador in England to inquire whether his

highness would not think it convenient, that both commonwealths should send some fit persons to treat with the duke. Wherefore the secretary desired to know whether any other would be sent from England, than he that is now at Turin. I answered, that I believed there would, though I had not yet received any letters out of England making mention of any other. The proconsul said, they had to do with an arrogant people. I replied, "Let their arrogance be what it will, if ye in treaty find a necessity to adjoin force, England will not suffer such a business to be marred in the handling for the want of necessary requisites." He answered, "I doubt force will be such a requisite."

Mr. Stockar, that was in England, is to go ambassador for Schaffhausen. In a letter to a friend here, he writes thus:—" *Il nous faut munir de magnanimité et de constance, contre un parti fourbe et captieux. Je scay bien que l'Albion nous secondera bravement. Le bon Dieu nous vueille assister par son esprit.*"

The senate of this canton hath written again this week to his highness in the behalf of their citizens, Sir Oliver Fleming's creditors. One of the creditors is a proconsul, and a brother to one of the burgo-masters; another creditor is, by marriage, a near kinsman to the principal secretary. So it will not be hard for the poorer creditors often to obtain such

letters for them all, till their importunity have brought that business to the desired end.

The last week, I received a letter from Monsieur Le Prioux, minister of Pinasche, which place is as full of those poor Piedmontois as it can hold. He says, that he has lost all that he hath lent to several men (now killed or undone) in the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne, where he lived a preacher seventeen years, before he came to Pinasche; that he hath eight children, (Zurich hath lately taken one of them, and breeds him for a scholar;) that, besides the incredible pains that he must take for so many poor souls escaped to his town, he is at extraordinary expense. He therefore prays me to intercede for him, that he may recover the money he lent to Mr. Peter Martin, agent for Great Britain in the court of Savoy twelve years ago. He hath sent me the particulars. Some of them are expressed in livres of Piedmont, the value of which I do not know precisely, but I guess the whole sum comes to about twenty-four pounds sterling. I believe he had heard that, about eight weeks ago, I paid a lesser debt of that Martin's to another minister of Piedmont that had written to me, and hath since sent me Mr. Martin's letters to him, so that I know his hand. If there be an odd sum of forty or fifty pounds in the money collected for Piedmont, it might be set apart for such purposes, and sent to me, or any other whom you trust. For

whether Mr. Martin be alive, and able to pay his debts, I know not, nor ever heard anybody speak of him till I came hither.

Sir, to the three sheets which I sent you, the publishers have thought fit to add this fourth sheet.

The last letters from Cologne say, that Middleton is come thither. Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

From Zurich, July 7.

OUR ambassadors went hence July 2nd; they make all the haste they can, so that they will go neither to Berne nor to Geneva, but a shorter way. The popish deputies at Baden offered to send ambassadors into Savoy, but our deputies told them, that we would forbid our ambassadors to consult or meddle with theirs at Turin. We hear, that the Savoyards have reaped the corn that our brethren had sowed in the plain, but some of them were killed at their work, so that the rest will not attempt to touch their corn that grows among the mountains, for there the poor men have the advantage of the higher ground and bad passage. Our brethren will not treat alone; they will tarry for the advice and assistance of the evangelical princes and states that have sent them supplies, &c. They have had much money sent them, and news of

more, but they would fain see soldiers and good commanders come to them, and surely that is the only way to do them good ; for the court of Savoy and the French ambassador there, if they be not well looked to, will shuffle up a pacification, which shall be extremely to the poor men's disadvantage, and yet the Savoyards will observe it no longer than they think good. In a word, Savoy is not to be trusted, nor any treaty to be made with that duke, but by such as can bind him with iron chains ; for that court and people, especially in matters of religion, will keep no articles if they dare break them ; therefore the poor Piedmontois have reason to wish for powerful interponents that dare make just demands, and can force their adversaries to grant them, and that can and will become garands to warrant the treaty, and to punish the transgressors of it. If this be not done, all other cost and labour is but cast away in this business.

Our cantons will write to the Bishop of Valesia, to dissuade him from executing his edict against the protestants.

Sir, by that time that this comes to your hand, I hope a new warrant will be signed for my money. I have heard that the last warrant was signed ten or eleven weeks ago, and yet I received not the money till yesterday.

The last post brought no letter from you to your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

7th July, 1655.

SIR,—I have received yours by the last post with the enclosed papers, and hoped in the letter the cantons writ to his highness to have found some signification of their resentment to have done something very vigorously concerning the late cruelty upon the poor Piedmontois, but neither therein, nor by anything you write, I perceive no great resentment thereof. One of yours, two or three posts since, informed, that they had raised one thousand men at Berne, with an intention to fall into the Duke of Savoy's country, in case the messenger they sent to the duke had not a very good answer. They speak there also of making war upon their popish neighbours, but I perceive those motions are dead of themselves, or, at least, you have omitted to write concerning them.

I have formerly desired you would endeavour to understand fully and particularly what is the true mind and intention of the protestant cantons as to this business, but have not heard anything from you therein, which makes me mention it again, there being nothing that is more necessary for us here, than to be well informed whether there be a mind in those people to engage upon the protestant account in this occasion. It is certain that the design was general, and to speak of the duke's

word, in any agreement which shall be made is frivolous ; the poor protestants ought to have another kind of security than that, and, I believe, it is time for the protestants in all the world to consider their own security also ; and if this doth not awaken us, we are under a prejudicial slumber. What his highness's intentions are, you fully understand, and the whole nation is with him in it ; viz., to expose all if they can have an opportunity, which cannot be hoped for, if the cantons be backward, and unwilling to engage.

I know they will put off all upon want of money, but they ought not to make a greater difficulty of it than is just, and if they will be at some charge, others will be aiding to them in that. The collections here will, we hope, be plentiful ; 20,000*l.* is (as I take it) already come in, and 10,000*l.* may possibly be furnished for some time, if there be a real intention in the Swissers to do anything effectually, which, I pray, do your utmost to know. There is a person which will be sent from hence to Geneva, and such other places as are nearest the valley, concerning the collections ; and to confer with the persons most concerned which way the collection is to be disposed of, wherein will be considered, whether it be best to give it for the relief of the spoiled and distressed, or for the restitution of them into their countries, &c., and securing them therein for the future. This latter is to be

most desired, and without which, all will signify nothing, either to those particular persons, or to the cause in general ; but nothing of this can be done without the Swissers will peremptorily resolve upon a war against the authors of this horrible massacre. It is very probable that you will be required to meet the person to be sent at Geneva, or some other convenient place, to confer upon the matters aforesaid, and therefore be fully and certainly instructed of the dispositions of the people where you are, and what assistance they would expect from the Protector, and be in readiness to take that journey if you be called for ; and, in the meantime, fail not to let us know the true state of things, and the conferences at large which you shall have in those affairs, wherein you may assure whom it appertains of the sincerity of the intention here of this work.

I do not well understand what instruction the deputies are to have who (you say) are to go to Savoy ; they will find one there from his highness who will communicate with them. I have nothing to trouble you with ; the affairs of France stand as they did ; nothing will be done without regard to those poor people. Your humble servant.

I pray you write to me at large by the next after this.

MR. J. H. HUMMEL TO MR. PELL.

12th July, 1655.

SIR,—Yours of July 4th came not to my hands till July the 9th ; the messenger went from hence about six ; three hours after did I receive your own, else hath I written before eight days. I am sorry of the miscarrying of my last letter, yet I hope it will cause Junker Schneberger to shew you his letter which I have written to him, and so you will find what I wrote to him concerning the alliance with

Junker Schneberger did answer, and his letter is written out of Baden, dated the 29th of June ; the sum of it is, an approbation of my considerations above intimated, and secondly, he relates that there are divers opinions concerning that alliance. And blessed be God therein, that yet we have some that do oppose themselves, and are resolved not to consent to these abominations. He did send unto me a short collation of the covenant eternal, erected between us and . . . of . . .* and of the confederation made anno 1602, with the same, without any doubting you have seen it ; I intend to shew these demonstrations to the friends of integrity in these our places. I thank you, Sir, very kindly for your Mercury Politicus, which I will keep for your sake. *O utinam hic illustriss. D. L. audarem aliquid insinuare ; sub finem Mercurii*

* There are cyphers here in the original.

Politici extat Dr. Gouge, his Commentary on the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, a work of thirty years' labour. *Esto quæso, ut sis dominus stemmatis nobilissimi, esto inquam minister etiam ecclesiæ nostræ, id est, consilio et auxilio tuo, meis vero expensis et sumptibus compara mihi hunc* Commentary on the Hebrews, and so can you, through me a poor instrument of the church of God, do great service unto the same, I will pay for all cost, and will be, indeed, thankful to your worship. I confess I ask of you much, and perhaps a hard thing, yet, Sir, you see my intention, and can hope a great blessing, and for me I cannot see how I could get it so soon, as through your dispositions, for you have Mr. Hartlib at London, you have M. D. and other good and great friends. If I could obtain that great favour of you, that you would provide for me these labours of Gouge *interim*, it would be the benediction of my cure. So I recommend myself and these my petitions to your greatness, and yourself to God's heavenly protection, and

Remain, your most humble servant,

J. H. HUMMEL.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

12th July, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours of the 23rd of June, (I suppose, new style,) and perceive thereby that you have had some discourse with the Switzers con-

cerning the business of Savoy, but find them cold enough as to any undertaking for the protestant cause, or for the relief of their poor neighbours, unless it may be done by words. I have written to you at large by my last letter upon this subject, to which I will add nothing, supposing that will come safe to your hands, only I earnestly desire your answer thereto, and the particular account of what you shall do with the Switzers, in pursuance of the instruction and direction you receive.

Our treaty with France stands as it did—not advanced one step. His highness insisteth it be agreed in this treaty, that the French will not give assistance to the Duke of Savoy against the protestants, nor suffer his people to do it. I suppose the ambassador hath sent to his master for instructions therein : what will be done therein, time will shew.

We have nothing from Pen's fleet but rumours, which we credit not, because we have yet had no express ourselves. Blake is now plying about the straits. All things remain here in the state they were in by my last. The collection for the Piedmontois is not yet all come in, so that I cannot tell you what the sum will be. We are expecting every day an ambassador extraordinary from Sweden, who gives out that the design of his great army is against Poland ; but I believe it is for Prussia and Dantzic, which much startles the Dutch.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 14, 1655.

SIR,—Here they hope for letters from the cantons' ambassadors from Turin about a week hence. Those which they wrote in the way tell us, that three principal persons of Geneva,* knowing that they would go beside their town, met them at Vevay, July 7th, and gave them many memorials concerning the rights and wrongs of the poor Piedmontois. That when they came to Aigle, July 8th, they received a packet from their fore-runner, Major Wyss, wherein, besides the duke's letter to the six protestant cantons, they had one from the said major, telling them, that the duke would turn them over to the French king in this business ; but they resolved to go on, and wrote to the major to provide a house for them at Turin, where they hoped to be July 13th. But they signify, that they believe it will be necessary to write to the French king, and to his ambassadors both at Turin and Soloturn. Major Wyss spoke with Mr. Morland, at Turin,† on the 3rd or 4th of July. He found him discontented with the Savoyards for

* The professors Pictet, Turetine, and Leger. The last was the author of the work on the history of the Waldenses, which bears his name.

† Samuel (afterwards Sir Samuel) Morland was sent by Cromwell to the court of Savoy, to expostulate on the late edict against the Piedmontese, and to obtain, if possible, its

stopping and breaking up letters written to him. On the 12th of this month, the evangelical cantons wrote to the French king, and to his ambassador at Soloturn, in the behalf of the Piedmontois. I send you herewith a copy of the duke's answer to the cantons' letter, sent by Major Wyss. The hand is fair enough, but so small you will be troubled to read it. It came so late to my hand, that I had not time to write it in a greater letter.

The other paper is a translation of what was sent me out of Rhætia this week: it will help to the understanding of the cantons' memorial concerning them, which I hope Mr. Dury hath sent you before this time. Perhaps he hath neglected it, thinking it came time enough before the treaty between England and Spain is concluded.

We hear of little action in Piedmont. The poor men are only upon their defence, desirous to save their mountain harvest, having lost what they had in the plain.

Those of Zurich have heard of some of Bern that are at Whitehall. They desire to know what they

recal. He left England on the 23rd of May, was with the French court at La Ferte on the 26th of the same month, and reached Rivoli, where the Duke of Savoy held his court, on the 21st of June. He remained at Turin till the 19th of July, when, finding his expostulations ineffectual, he set out for Geneva, where we shall shortly find him resident, and acting in concert with Mr. Pell.

do there, without credentials or instructions from all the cantons.

These two last posts brought no letter from you to
Your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

July 21, 1655.

SIR,—I was very sorry to see in yours of June 29th, that you were so ill that you were not then able to read my letters of June 9th.

By these adjoined, you will perceive the French king is ready to hinder all his subjects from helping the poor Piedmontois, whilst my Lord Protector will draw promise from him to hinder all his from helping the Savoyards.

Yesterday, I visited the burgomaster, who was returned the evening before from the general meeting of all the cantons at Baden. He said, some of the popish cantons are, by a particular league, obliged to send four or five thousand soldiers when the Duke of Savoy calls for them. Those cantons are now much afraid that the English will fall into Piedmont; for then the duke will call upon them, who cannot perform their promise; most of theirs that were able and willing to go to the wars being already gone to the French; the rest will rather

stay at home than serve Savoy, who, they think, hath very little money, and is a bad paymaster.

The popish cantons generally seem desirous to renew their league by oath with the rest, which hath not been done these one hundred and thirty years. Whereupon a new draught of a confederation was given in writing to the deputies of every canton ; and all of them, by the middle of November, are to send to Zurich their approbation or dislike of those articles.

The French ambassador's proposition to that assembly was only to persuade them to concord, and to renew the league among themselves. They gave him an answer of mere compliment.

The burgomasters paid their yearly tribute ; and prayed them, that when they renewed the league with France, they would remember to include the county of Burgundy as a neutral ; that, though it might be subject to Spain, and lie as it were in France, they might not be obliged to serve in the wars for or against either of those kings.

The Bishop of Basil would be admitted a confederate. They answered, that they were now his protectors : it would be time enough to speak of that admission when the years of protection were expired.

The Spanish agent came not till all were gone, save the deputies of Zurich. He thanked them for their favourable answer to the Burgundians ; and

told them, that the governor of Milan had commanded him to tell them, that he had taken order to exempt all their subjects from the inquisition ; so that they might trade in the city and duchy of Milan without fear, &c. The rest of their affairs were amongst themselves. The protestant deputies, when they were alone, had some discourse what was to be done further in the business of Piedmont, but agreed only in this, that no resolution could be taken till they heard from their ambassadors.

They had written to the Elector of Brandenburg concerning Piedmont. His answer came yesterday. I have not yet read it. They say, he promiseth a collection for them.

I will trouble you no further at this time ; but, praying for the confirmation of your health, and abilities to undergo your weighty employments,

I remain, Sir, your humble servant.

Postscript. From Zurich, July 22.—Yesternight, our lords received a letter from the French ambassador residing at Soloturn ; wherein he assures them, that the king, his master, hath referred that business of Piedmont to M. Servient, his ambassador at Turin (a papist), and to lieutenant-general Mombrun, who is of the same religion with the poor men of the valleys ; and he believes they will be able to make a good end.

They received a letter from their ambassadors,

dated at Turin, July 14-24 ; wherein they signify that they came thither that day, about nine o'clock in the morning ; and that whilst they were writing that letter, the master of the ceremonies came to them, and promised them a speedy audience.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

20th July, 1655.

SIR,—The enclosed is a duplicate of the instructions which are sent by another way. I hope they will both come to your hands, and you will see by them what his highness's instructions are therein. The sending them unto you has been occasioned by the letter which the cantons sent unto his highness, in answer of his unto them, as also by the notice we have received by the Dutch ambassador here, that the states-general are sending an extraordinary commissioner to the Duke of Savoy, who is to take the cantons in his way, and to communicate with them in the matter of his negotiation. His highness judging it a very convenient time, when the said extraordinary commissioner is there, to take the advantage of further representing to the cantons his sense of the late horrid massacre ; whereupon opportunity may be taken for a communication of counsels between you, as our commissioner and

deputy, the extraordinary commissioner of the states-general, and the cantons, concerning the restoring of the exiled persons to their possessions and privileges, satisfaction for their losses, punishment to be inflicted upon those who executed this success, and security that the like injuries and cruelties be not exercised upon them for the future, which are the points his highness judges to be the most material to be insisted upon ; and whereof, with the best and likeliest means to obtain them from the duke, you are to consider with the cantons and the extraordinary commissioner of the states-general. And in case you should agree of a joint address to the Duke of Savoy concerning those points, or aught else which shall occur upon the place, you shall signify the same unto Mr. Morland, now upon that place, who shall have orders to do accordingly. The matter of the security is the most important point ; and without that, the rest is nothing. This conference with them will make way for that which is mentioned in your instructions, to be after his highness's extraordinary commissioner is come to those parts, for which meeting Basle is thought to be the most convenient place. And thence these reasons for sending this extraordinary commissioner thither ; because the money which is raised by the collection is to be distributed, and it was not possible to acquaint you, at this distance, or any other person, with the instructions

here concerning that, nor could any man be able to manage it, without understanding fully all that has passed here in relation thereunto, which cannot be done by writing. Secondly, that the nation who hath given the money expects that a very good account be given of the bestowing it, and therefore more than one ought to be employed in it ; and in case the cantons will send one or more commissioners with you to Basle, the aforesaid commissioner extraordinary will be able to inform and explain unto them fully his highness's instructions concerning this whole business, according to the tenour of the instructions sent unto you. You shall have notice by the next of the time when the aforesaid is like to be at Basle. In the meantime, it is good for you to prepare all things for that journey.

All things remain here as they did by my last, nothing having fallen out since worth the writing of, and therefore I will only assure you of my being

Your loving friend and servant,

J. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 27th July, 1655.

SIR,—I count Mr. General Downing* (as you

* George Downing, son of Calibute Downing, D.D. He was for some time Cromwell's resident in Holland, and taking part with the king at the restoration, he was knighted

had by my last) begins his journey for Geneva and these parts upon Monday next. He will bring with him instructions (wherein you are joined), to be executed at Geneva, Berne, and Basle, and thereabouts; and therefore I am commanded by his highness to signify that his pleasure is, that you, forthwith upon the receipt hereof, repair to Geneva to meet Mr. Downing; and in case the evangelical cantons or any of them will, before you go, agree of a place where they would send a commissioner or envoy to meet you and Mr. Downing, concerning the late massacre of the protestants in Savoy, it would be of very much advantage; but that must be left to your management, only it is necessary that you make what haste you can yourself, that you may meet in time; and that you carry with you such things as have passed between you and those where you are.

and elected M.P. for Morpeth in 1661. He was afterwards made Secretary to the Treasury, and Commissioner of the Customs, and, in 1663, was created a baronet of East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire. He was concerned in arresting some of the regicides, on which account, says Pepys, "all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains." "On the 12th July, 1666," says Evelyn, "we sat the first time in the star chamber. There was now added to our commission Sir George Downing, (one that had been a great . . . against his majesty, but now insinuated into his favour, and from a pedagogue and fanatic preacher not worth a groat, had become excessive rich,) to inspect the hospitals and treat about prisons." Downing was sent to Geneva as commissioner extraordinary, to join with Pell and Morland at the end of July, 1655.

We have received ill news from the West Indies, our men upon their first attempt upon St. Domingo* having received a great baffle; what their condition is since, we must expect by the next letters, which we are in daily expectation of.

I remain, your affectionate friend,

J. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—As soon as I had opened your letters of July the 7th, before I had read anything in them, their unusual length gave me some assurance of the recovery of your health, of which I was very glad, and hope it will continue. But, if I do not misunderstand your postscript, you do not expect a proportionate answer till the next week. By that time, perhaps, these here will better know their own mind, for their resolutions depend much on their knowledge of the resolutions of others. From me they now know the intentions of England much

* The fleets under Penn and Venables reached St. Domingo on the 14th of April, after running short of provisions and suffering some hardships. An ill-concerted attack was made on that island, in which they lost many men, which obliged the two admirals to give up the original design. They afterwards turned their forces against Jamaica, where they arrived on the 10th, and made themselves masters of the island without opposition.

more fully than I was able to tell them before I had read that letter from their ambassadors. They had one letter signifying their arrival at Turin, but none this week by the ordinary of Geneva, as they expected, concerning their audience. From the Hague, they received a letter yesterday (whereof I here send you a copy), which makes them expect an ambassador from thence, to consult with them concerning Piedmont. You will easily believe that either of these expectations from Turin or the Hague are sufficient to make them suspend their resolutions, and defer the final putting that great business to the vote. They also received yesterday a Dutch letter from Heidelberg, with copies of three other letters of that prince elector, concerning Piedmont; two in High Dutch to the electors of Saxony and Bradenberg, and one in Latin to the Duke of Savoy, of which I also send herewith a copy.

*From Geneva, July 23, they write thus :—*Mr. Morland intended to stay here but two days; we have persuaded him to tarry, because Monsieur Wyss hath written from Turin hither, that the ambassadors from the cantons are very sorry that he was gone thence ere they could get thither; and that they extremely desire that he should stay here, that they may communicate with him according to the occurrences, &c. We have received a letter from the King of Sweden to the Duke of Savoy, but in the superscription, he is called by a wrong name, and therefore we doubt he will not receive it.

*From Grenoble, July 28, new style.—*Since my last, Monsieur d'Ize went to the Duke (of Lesdiguières), and told him that he doubted the King of France would get but little honour in the

business of Piedmont, if those affairs were carried in such a manner as hitherto they had been. That the French ambassador, Servient, had drawn as many of the poor men together as he could to speak of peace; and in the meantime, the forces of Savoy had attempted to surprise and destroy the rest. The duke answered, it was extremely ill done, and he would write of it to whom it appertained, professing that he desired nothing more than the peaceable re-establishment of that poor people, to which all the king's subjects ought to contribute their endeavours to their power. He added, that notwithstanding the king's letter prohibiting to help them, his majesty was contented to have the execution managed discreetly, and that he had lately set at liberty two men arrested for attempting to go to help the poor Piedmontois. Yesterday, we had credible information that 500 men were passed through Ambrun towards the valleys of Piedmont.

They write also, that near Sesane they keep strong guard to keep all men from going to the valleys, and that in the country about Ambrun, by the command of the archbishop, they are in arms, that they may be able to stop all that would go into Piedmont that way.

They that have hitherto hindered the collection for Piedmont in Holland do not perhaps know or consider the huge expense that they must be at for meat and munition for their soldiers, besides the relief of ten or twelve thousand souls in great want, and a great number sick and weak, especially in the valley of Queirds.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—By the last post, I acknowledged the receipt of your long letter of July the 7th. As soon as I could speak with the burgomaster, I read the greatest part of it to him into Latin. He answered me in High Dutch, to this purpose :—

“ I conceive the sum of all is this : his highness hath received our letter of June the 16th, and desires to know what we intend to do further in the business of Piedmont, and would have our concurrence in a war against the Duke of Savoy. As for our intentions, interposition was the scope of our embassy, which we sent thither; and we shall hope that it may be profitable, till we hear the contrary from our ambassadors. We look for the next week's letters within a day or two. By them we shall see whether it be a true report which we heard, that Savoy would not accept of their interposition, saying, that he had referred the whole business to Monsieur Servient, the French ambassador at Turin. If that be true, we shall not well know what to resolve, till we see how far the French king will intermeddle in it. If he take the whole business upon himself, I believe we shall make new addresses to his majesty for those poor men. But we shall think no further of that, till we see what our ambassadors write.

“ Your letter desires that we should peremptorily resolve upon a war against Savoy in the poor men's quarrel. I must confess, that if this business had been wholly neglected by us and others, the consequences would have been exceeding dangerous for the reformed churches in France and Germany. But since so many have shewn themselves sensible and compassionate at this time, I hope that some-

thing will be done that will re-establish the Waldenses, and may make the papists less ready to entertain such counsels henceforward. Whether these ends may not be obtained without war, we cannot yet see. And though we were assured that nothing but war could help us to those ends, yet we, for our own parts, had reason to look upon such a war as a burden too heavy for our shoulders. None of our friends having hitherto made any overture of assisting us in such a war, it is no great wonder that we have not yet resolved to begin it, though our common people think long till they be at it. It seems, the English are generally inclined to the like thoughts. What the united Netherlands think of the business, we cannot gather by any of their letters to us ; no, not by that which came last, that gives us notice of the coming of a person of great dignity from thence, to acquaint us with their sense of their affairs of Piedmont. I have not the letter here ; the secretary of state shall shew it you. It is dated July 14th (new style no doubt), and it saith, *se itineri jamjam accingit* ; so that we think he will be here shortly, and we are willing to expect his coming.

“ If we would have given leave, our people long ere this would have been in Savoy, which would have given a fair occasion to the popish cantons to have taken up arms against them and us ; so that by this we should have been together by the ears

at home, which our poor brethren in Piedmont have no reason to desire, seeing a civil war here can do them no good.

“But if any of their other friends fall into Piedmont, and cause the duke to call upon the popish cantons for help according to their particular league with him, those cantons shall find that our arms will be soon enough put on to stop their journey into Savoy. Fribourg is already jealous of this, and hath set watches and provided arms. Bern doth the same, as being their next neighbours. We (of Zurich) are doing something, but with all possible secrecy, and yet we hope we shall be ready to appear as soon as there shall be need. And this is all that as yet we have done towards war; and all that we can do in it alone will be, but to hinder our popish cantons and all Bavarian and other German forces from helping the Duke of Savoy. It is true, something more we could do by way of diversion, but perhaps not so much as some of our friends suppose. We can fall into that part of Savoy that is next to us. The Bernois have done it heretofore, and will be able to do it again. We can, perhaps, overrun all that part of north Savoy that lies between the lake (Geneva) and the mountains of Savoy, but I cannot tell whether we could get any further southward. The mountains of Savoy with few men are naturally fitted to shut out great

numbers of assailants; neither will it be in our power to hinder the French from sending into Savoy and Piedmont what assistance they think good, so that our concurrence in a war against Savoy will not be so useful as that letter seems to suppose.

“It is very probable the French will send forces to help that duke against all invaders whatsoever, especially in this quarrel, seeing the king, as we have heard, hath promised the Low Dutch ambassador that he will get the Waldenses re-established, and will himself be their garand to warrant them quiet possession. Howsoever, he will desire to keep the way open out of France, through Piedmont into Italy; having hope this summer to overrun Lombardy, to take Milan, and beat the Spaniard quite out of the north part of Italy.

“The Venetian resident told me yesterday, that now the French forces do in a manner what they list, all over the Duchy of Milan. So that, doubtless, France will pursue those successes and strive to improve them in Lombardy, and to that end will most violently oppose all those that shall endeavour to stand in the way in Piedmont.

“On the other side, I believe England and the United Netherlands are able to land great forces in Piedmont, but the poor Waldenses are afraid that before that can be done, the summer will be past, and then the snow falling will not make those hills

habitable in winter, which now serve them for strongholds and tolerable dwellings, so that the next winter may be more grievous to them than that of the last year. And, therefore, not knowing where they shall then bestow themselves, they are willing to hear of a pacification concluded before the beginning of winter, that they may with safety leave those bitter cold quarters, and seek warmer shelters among their neighbours, till the spring return and give them fitter weather to build new houses, and to begin the world again, as if it were a mere new plantation. But it may be God's providence will dispose otherwise of them.

“These thoughts offered themselves to me upon your reading of that letter. That I may hereafter return you a fuller answer to your proposals, I must report them to the council; and to that end, I pray you make an extract of your letter, and send it to me, or to one of the secretaries.”

I promised to do it, and so we parted.

Not long after, the principal secretary came to my lodgings, and shewed me that letter from the Hague, &c. His discourse was not unlike the burgomaster's, save that he said, that the duke's grant recorded, and copies of it delivered to the Waldenses and their friends, would be thought by some a sufficient confirmation of their new agreement. He asked me, what further confirmation England would desire or hope? I answered, it

was not expressed in my letters, but I could guess at it by the mention of war. He asked what good it would do, by war, to force the duke to grant more than he was willing, such promises being observed but till the constraining force be gone? I replied, "The constraining force must abide so near such promises, as that they may not dare to retract or break promises; or, if they do, they may presently be punished for it." "Truly," said he, "if England or Holland will take Nitsa, or Villa Franca, and keep it, I believe the Waldenses would count it a better guarantee for them." "But," said I, "some of yours say, that those towns are impregnable." He answered, "they are well fortified; but if General Blake was there, he would make use of his own judgment, and never inquire the opinion of any of our men." I answered, that my letters did not yet descend to such particulars. He prayed me to send him an extract of that last letter, and so left me. The same day, I sent them an extract, which, as I afterward heard, was first shewn only to the secret council.

On the last of July, the foresaid burgomaster came to my lodging, and told me, that he came to thank me for my last visit, and the communications of my letters, and for their extract, which had been shewn to the council, who gave me thanks for it, and prayed me in my next letters to signify their

thanks to his highness for that great care of the Piedmontois, and their confidence that his highness would continue in that zeal and good affection towards them. They did acknowledge that the greatest difficulty of the treaty with the duke would be about the assurance for the time to come; but seeing my extract, did thereupon infer a consequence of a war against Savoy, which was a business too great for a few of them, or all of them alone, to determine, they could not give me a full answer, till they had first proposed it to their senate of two hundred, and afterwards to the other evangelical cantons, which should be done with all convenient speed.

I answered, that in my next letters I should remember to insert what he had then recommended to me, and whatsoever else they should desire me to write, before the next post-day, as, perhaps, their ambassadors' letters on some other occasion might give them cause to take up some new resolutions which they might think fit to acquaint me withal. "Our ambassadors' letters," said he, "came by an extraordinary; have you not yet seen them?" I told him, no; but an extract had been sent me from one whom I named to him. He said, "They have been civilly entertained, and have had audience. The duke would be glad to have the business ended without their interposition, yet it is consented that in the treaty all shall be communicated

to them." I answered, "I perceive the French ambassador makes haste, he would be willing to make an end before the number of the interponents and of the difficulties grows greater. If your ambassadors do not hinder, we shall perhaps see a pacification suddenly shuffled up, an act of oblivion granted by the duke; the guarantee being undertaken by the French king, the poor men must not have to say, that is insufficient; and so an end will be made without taking advice of a considerable part of their friends. For the Low Countries, I can say nothing, but I know that England looks upon that business not to be buried in oblivion so soon. So much innocent blood cries loud in English ears, so much cruelty and treachery hath admonished ours to think almost all guarantee insufficient, and that hath cast us upon thoughts of war." "War!" said he, "We have also thoughts of war, and we think we have great store of men fit for war; but there are other requisites which we want. All the cantons are incredibly bare of money; the peace of Germany many ways drained us. The cities and princes of Germany at the end of the war, for the clearing of their countries of soldiers, were to pay greater sums than were to be found in Germany, and therefore they laid about them, and borrowed of every one that had any ready money. The evangelical cantons lent huge sums to the evangelical cities and princes, and the popish can-

tons lent very largely to the popish princes and cities of Germany. They seemed to lend upon a little better security than we, because their cantons and other clergymen became securities; but the cheapness of corn and wine, wherein their tithes principally consist, keeps them so bare that they are not yet able to pay the interest of the borrowed money, much less can they repay any of the principal, nor can our German debtors pay any of us any interest. Since the peace, the Germans everywhere endeavour to raise profit of their land by their labour, by which means corn and wine is in such abundance and at so low a price, that our people know not how to live any longer by husbandry, insomuch that our neighbours of Suevia have boasted, that in three years more, they will undo all the Switzers, by serving the country with corn and wine at a cheaper rate than the Switzers can afford it. They have advantages above us. We have stiffer ground, so that, in some places of Germany, they can till more ground with one horse than we with four. We are more inconveniently situated for exportation of what we can spare. Milan would give us money for our corn, but it would not be worth our pains to carry it on horseback, as we must do, over the Got-hard.* If

* "A huge high mountain in the canton of Uri, about midway between Zurich and Milan."—*Note in the original.*

we lay a hundred pounds of oats upon a horse at Zurich, he will have eaten fourscore pounds of them by that time he gets to Milan. Yet I can remember since there was so great dearth of corn in Milan, that they fetched all their provision at Zurich ; and it may be that the French will now make such havoc of all thereabouts, that the Milanois will be glad to hear that our store-houses are so full, and will bring us some money for our corn. But when a husbandman hath corn and wine to sell and can find no market for it, and yet wants money to buy iron, salt, and cloth (all which these countries have not), this makes him complain of great want, though his ground be fruitful, and his harvest and vintage plentiful.

“ The wars of Germany and of the Low Countries, and that French war in the Alps among the Grisons, brought incredible floods of money into Switzerland, by peaceable passing of soldiers through or near the country, and paying for all that they needed. But since the end of those wars, we have had an ebb, and hardly see any occasion of bringing money again among us.

“ Our merchants heretofore made great profit of carrying German manufactures and other commodities into France, because they were custom-free, and the Germans were not. But since our league expired, that profit is also much abated ; our men must now pay some custom.

“ In the late rebellion of the subjects of Bern, I went to the French ambassador that is yet at Solothurn, and prayed him, in consideration of our present occasions, that he would let us have some money in part payment of the great sums due to us, as lent by our ancestors to the crown of France ; and we would acknowledge so much of the principal repaid ; or, if he thought not fit at that time to pay any part of that debt, that he would pay us the peace-money (*fried-gelt*) due to us for the perpetual peace between France and us ; or, if he liked not that, that he would pay us the league-money due to us in consideration of our league with France ; or, if none of these pleased him, that he would give us the assistance-money promised in the instrument of the league, to be given to us when we were in need by wars, &c. But none of all these claims were sufficient to draw a penny out of him, and yet we knew that he had huge sums of the king’s money then lying by him. But we perceived that he desired to see the Boors have the upper hand ; then he would have endeavoured to make us renew the league at what conditions he list, as to annex us to the crown of France for ever, and such like. This unfriendly dealing of France, in time of such great danger, made us see that the French court looks upon us with other eyes than Henry the Fourth and his predecessors, who by all means endeavoured to preserve a good understanding

between France and these countries, accounting it good husbandry to give us some yearly peace-money, and so to live securely by us ; rather than to disoblige us, yea, or to conquer us, and then to be at a hundred times the expense in maintaining of garrisons, which the present counsellors of France seem not to think upon."

I had not made any considerable interruptions whilst he was in this discourse of money, expecting that he would at length come to make his inferences, that for want of money they could do nothing at all in a way of war ; or if they did, they must have some huge sum deposited, &c. But when I saw him ready to go away, I said thus : "After the council of 200 and other cantons shall have considered my proposals, I make no doubt but that they will either concur with England, or else they will make me so well understand the reasons of their non-concurrence, that I may be able to represent them fully to his highness, &c., that England may not imagine that the evangelical cantons care not for the evangelical cause."

August, 4-14.—Of the little alarm at Geneva, I shall not need to write, because Mr. Morland is there ; I received a letter from him to-day. This week, yours of July 14-24 came to your humble servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR PELL.

SIR,—I have formerly had the happiness to have been in your company at Col. Montague's* chamber at Whitehall, where, indeed, I was so much convinced of your singular worth and abilities in all respects, that from that time I had ever a longing desire of a further acquaintance with you, and enjoyment of your company. At that time, by your sudden departure out of England, both myself and many others, to our great grief, were frustrated of our hopes and expectations; but now since the providence of God has lately called me forth upon this negotiation to a place not far from that of your abode, my own inclinations and real respect to your person daily prompting me, the near affinity of our employments (the one respecting the being, and the other, well-being of the people of God,) continually inciting me, and also the strict commands of Mr. Secretary Thurloe in a late letter of his obliging me, I cannot but express my earnest desire of an intimate correspondence with you. If there

* Sir Edward Montagu, knight, who had distinguished himself during the civil war in the service of the parliament, and was subsequently made joint High Admiral of England. He was M. P. for Huntingdonshire. At the restoration, it was by his persuasion that the whole fleet agreed to acknowledge Charles II., by whom he was soon afterwards created Earl of Sandwich. He was killed in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, off Southwold Bay, in 1672.

be anything which respects the deliverance of those poor people of the valleys wherein you can inform me, I most earnestly beg it of you ; and what comes to my hands from time to time, I shall most freely impart unto you. I had written to you from Turin, and also to the chief minister of Zurich, from whom I received a civil letter, had I not feared it would have been intercepted, they at that court endeavouring to stop all correspondence during my abode there. About two weeks since, I came (according to orders) to Geneva, having had my answer from the duke, which was to this purpose : that those people had behaved themselves most rebelliously, but for my Lord Protector's sake, he would grant them the freedom of their religion within their limits, and general pardon (none excepted) for all that was passed, and their goods that they had without their limits, but would not grant them to live in their ancient habitations. This answer I have sent to my Lord Protector, with all other papers, which are many and large, touching this business ; I in the meantime staying here, at Geneva, till I receive orders to return home, or new instructions to go to Turin, and treat in behalf of those poor afflicted people. I had letters of credence also to the senate of Geneva, which I have delivered ; and dispatched my answer to the Lord Protector. My business with the senate of Geneva was to signify my Lord Protector's re-

spect to the senate, and to consult with them about the truth of this bloody massacre, and the means of relieving, either by money or other ways, all which I have sent to England in writing. Dear sir, I have not an opportunity now to be more prolix. I beg an answer from you, and remain, Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

SAM. MORLAND.

(Received 8th August, 1655.)

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

10th August, 1655.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 21st of the last month, which doth not administer to me any occasion to trouble you with an answer thereunto; besides, it is not probable that they will find you at Zurich, my former letter signifying to you his highness's commands for your going to Geneva; only I thought fit to let you know the news which we received from General Pen and Venables the last Saturday, that they had landed the army at the island of Jamaica, after that they had without success attempted Hispaniola, where their loss is not so considerable by much as is spoken of; and I trust this diversion is in mercy to us, the island where they now are being better in itself, and of much greater advantages for any further design

than the former. And it had been much better for them to have attempted this first, and they were advised to it. Our fleet was all well, save one Dutch bottom, which was set on fire by her own men through negligence. We sent above forty ships, and not one miscarried in all the voyage. Things remain here as they did by my last. I remain, your affectionate friend to serve you,

J. T.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 11th, 1655.

SIR,—The last week, I wrote largely in answer to a long letter of yours. August the 9th, at night, I received at one time two packets from you, both dated July 20th ; and according to the instructions in each of them, I desired audience the next morning early. The secret council made haste to grant it to me, so that before eleven o'clock that day, I had spoken to them in Latin, and delivered to them the heads of my speech written in their own language. The secretary of state brought me this answer:—

That they are very glad to hear that his highness continues in that resolution to help that poor people ; that they shall be ready to appoint commissioners to communicate with such as his highness shall send ; that they conceive that the city of

Bern will be a fitter place for the commissioners to meet in, than Basil or any other ; that they prayed me to return their humble and hearty thanks to his highness for those renewed assurances of sincere and cordial affection toward them and their state ; that they would speedily give notice of my proposals to the rest of the evangelical cantons, and to their ambassadors in Piedmont.

They wrote presently to their ambassadors, and sent it away by a post, about three of the clock in the afternoon of the same day.

As for the meeting rather at Bern than elsewhere, they pretend no other reason than the convenient distance from the three other evangelical cities, and from Geneva. But it is not unlikely that there is another reason why they would not meet at Basil. Upon occasion of my discourse with the burgo-master, mentioned in my last week's letter, this city wrote to Basil to feel their pulse for deeper engaging in this business. Basil sent them an answer (which I have not yet read), wherein they tell them, that the maintaining an ambassador in Piedmont is the utmost and last that they can do for the poor men ; and that for several weighty reasons which they will make known to them at the next assembly of the evangelical cantons. It is likely that this letter makes them account Basil already weary of well-doing, and therefore unfit to hearken to consultations for more action.

For my own part, when I consider what French, Austrian, and Heidelbergian humours that town is filled withal, I think I have some reason to suspect that English commissioners cannot reside there without great danger, nor their dependents and followers without frequent affronts.

The Dutch commissioner is not yet come hither. When he comes, I shall be mindful of the fifth instruction. I shall also endeavour to be ready to wait upon his highness's extraordinary commissioner, as soon as I have notice that he is come to the place prescribed.

I think it unnecessary to send you any news out of Piedmont, because we have nothing here but through Geneva, where Mr. Morland meets with it five or six days before us ; and, besides, his letters come to London much sooner than mine, as will appear in comparing the dates of our letters ; so that as long as Mr. Morland is there, your letters would come sooner to my hand if they were first sent to him, than now they do through Germany. I add this, because Mr. Ha.* tells me, that you desire another address for our letters. Fr. Ba. hath hitherto been careful enough ; but Mr. Dury, being so near Frankfort, will be able to procure some other, and shortly give you notice of it, according to his promise in his last letter to me.

Your humble servant.

* Hartlib.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, Aug., English style, 1655.

SIR,—This hour, I received yours of the 10th Aug., wherein I perceive you expected a second letter from me, which I had undoubtedly sent you, but I had news here that for certain that you were on your way for Geneva; and therefore expecting your arrival every moment, I omitted one opportunity, which I yet hope the speed of this express will redeem. Affairs here at present are thus :—We have been much afraid ever since the arrival of the ambassadors of Swiss, lest they should precipitate that affair; wherefore, about three weeks since, I sent an express to Major Wyss, to entreat the ambassadors, for many weighty considerations, not to make overmuch haste, forasmuch as I did daily expect an ambassador from England, or new instructions for myself to join with them in my Lord Protector's name. To this letter, Major Wyss made me an answer to this purpose,—viz., that the ambassadors were pressing the business by all means possible, to bring it to a good and speedy issue; not at all mentioning my Lord Protector's influence or zeal for the good of the people. The ambassadors also sent a relation of all that had passed since their arrival, a copy of which I would send you, but I presume you have already seen it. Upon this, after I had consulted with, and had the advice of, the senate of Geneva, I wrote the ambassadors of Swiss

a letter in the most submissive terms I could possibly, with eight considerations, which I have sent you enclosed, for the deferring the treaty some days.

I also wrote a letter to those poor people to the same purpose, promising them, that very suddenly they would hear from my Lord Protector, and also receive vast sums of money that were already raised and upon the way. About a day after I had sent this express, I received two letters from Mr. Secretary, giving the commands to do what I had already done, and which in effect justified all that I had done, which also assured me of your joining in this affair, and an extraordinary commissioner from England. Whereupon I translated Mr. Secretary's letters,—viz., all that was convenient, and enclosed them in a third letter, which I sent the same hour by an express to Pignerol, an answer to which I have not yet received.

Yesterday morning, I received one letter from the said Swiss ambassadors, and another from the people, an answer to my second letter with the eight considerations, to signify that the night before the date of the third letter, they had concluded and sent their patent to be signed by the duke; they also sent me the form of their patent. I cannot possibly at this instant have time to transcribe it (and I am commanded to keep all the originals of all papers), but do believe you will speedily see

them ; they are, in brief, but very little more than what the duke granted in his letter to my Lord Protector, which he sent by me, besides that which they have concluded is no treaty, but concessions running in the name of the duke as having compassion and shewing favour to rebels. Neither were the ambassadors suffered to sign it, nor any mention made of them in the third patent ; several other things there are very considerable in those papers, which you will better judge of them.

Upon the whole, the senate and ministers are extremely troubled at this action of the ambassadors, and do earnestly press me to entreat you to make all possible haste to Geneva, that we may consult together what is to be done, for I expect every moment an answer by my third express, that all is absolutely concluded. I long to hear from you to enjoy your company and counsel, for the business is now accompanied with many considerable difficulties. I beseech God Almighty make our way plain before us. I fear much those poor people will be left in more uncertainty, and their condition exposed to more hazard than ever ; their adversaries have managed their business with much subtilty and cunning.

This morning, the senate communicated unto me a letter from the lords of Berne to them, signifying their earnest desire that the ambassadors should not hasten or conclude anything till they heard from

England and Holland; as also that I would go to Turin, in case these ambassadors came speedily. For my part, I have, to the best of my understanding and utmost endeavour, hitherto laboured for those poor people, and would willingly (if I know my own heart) spend my life in the cause. But I long to see you, and also the ambassador from England, that some speedy counsel may be taken. I have this hour despatched another letter to the ambassadors, to entreat them to find some way to extricate themselves for a few days, certifying them that there were vast sums of money on the way. Sir, I am your most faithful and affectionate servant,

S. MORLAND.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

August, 1655.

SIR,—By my last, I signified to you his highness's pleasure for your repair to Geneva, there to meet the persons sent from his highness, concerning the distribution of the money collected here for the relief of the persecuted protestants of Savoy, and for other reasons which I did particularly acquaint you with the last week, and shall not now repeat them, hoping that those letters came safe to your hands. One of the persons who meets you comes from Turin, and I believe he is already

parted from Turin; the other went from hence upon Monday last, with instructions to make all the haste he could to Geneva, and therefore, unless you make very great haste, they will stay long for you. But I am not without hope that you may be departed from Zurich before this will arrive there, and shall for that reason write the less unto you by this, and the next you may expect from me at Geneva.

A Swedish extraordinary ambassador arrived here, had his audience in public on Friday last, and a secret conference the next day after. He speaks much of the good intentions of his master to the protestant cause and interest, and that he will cast his designs that way. In the meantime, he bends his forces towards Prussia and Poland. That king* hath an ambassador with him at this time, and they are in treaty, which the last letters made very hopeful, and then there will be other expectations of what design he will undertake. We have no further news from the West Indies since my last. I remain,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

J. THURLOE.

* The King of Poland.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 14th August, 1655.

SIR,—This hour, I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe of the 2nd of August, 1655, English style. Whereby I understand that Mr. Downing set out of London the 8th August, English style, with orders to make what possible haste he can to Geneva, where (as Mr. Secretary writes) you will meet Mr. Downing and me to consult about the means of relieving those poor people, and of disposing of 7000*l.* amongst their families, or as they have other occasions for money. I suppose you have likewise received orders for setting out for this place. I am in expectation every hour of my third* and last express that I sent to Pignerol, by which it is probable I shall understand more of the ambassador's proceedings, and I am no less desirous of enjoying your company and consolation in this time of need, who shall always desire to approve myself,

Sir, your very affectionate servant,

S. MORLAND.

* "I have sent you a copy of the letter the people of the valleys sent me, in answer to mine of the second express."—*Note in the original.*

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 14th August, 1655.

SIR, — I wrote you a letter this day by the ordinary post, to signify unto you that I have received this morning a letter from Mr. Secretary, in answer to my first letter from Geneva, in which were the duke's answer, the senate of Geneva their letter, and many other papers. Mr. Secretary writes, that you are to be suddenly at Geneva, to meet Mr. Downing and myself, to consult about this affair. And, indeed, now there is no small reason for me by these lines most earnestly to beg of you to hasten by all means your coming hither. I wrote you in my last, that the Swiss ambassadors had concluded the business at Pignerol, and that it was the great fear of most knowing men here, that it was such a peace as it would turn to the utter undoing of those poor people. This afternoon, I have received an answer to my third express that I sent to Pignerol, that all is done, and ratified in the usual form by the senate, and at Turin. For my part, I am something astonished at the sudden alteration of affairs; but I suspend my judgment till I speak with you face to face. I expect Mr. Downing every moment. I beseech you to come with all speed, for it is a matter of no small consequence, and something must be speedily done. I beg of you also to send with all speed to the

ambassador of Holland by all means to come forward, notwithstanding this noise of all being concluded. You will see the whole relation by the papers of the ambassadors ; and it is impossible for me to send them to you at this moment, being preparing to write to England, and despatching a messenger to meet Mr. Downing, to entreat him to come forward with all haste.

Sir, my humble service to Mr. Ulrich. Dear Sir, I am your most humble and affectionate servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

August 18th, 1655.

SIR,—These are only to give you notice, that I have received yours of July 27.

The four cities seem not agreed in the place to meet us ; but when they shall hear that we are together, and ready to give their deputies a meeting, I doubt not but they will find time and place for it. I do not yet hear where the Low-Dutch commissioner is, nor have they any certainty that he is upon the way ; but I have taken order with them to send me notice of it as soon as he shall come to Basil. Zurich hath written to-day to their ambassadors at Turin to tarry there till one come from England to them, or till further order from hence.

I have received two letters, dated August 14th, from Mr. Morland, hastening me to come away; and yet I do not perceive that he, or any other at Geneva, hath had any notice from any city in France that the English commissioner is so far on his way; so that I hope I shall be at Geneva before him, being now ready for that journey. And therefore I crave leave to break off thus hastily.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

SIR,—I have received yours of August 16th, whereby I am glad to understand that you are of opinion that my Lord Protector and the states of Holland will by no means approve of this late sudden and immature pacification, which, in all human probability, if not undone or much amended, will prove of worse consequence to those poor people than the continuance of a war, considering what a hopeful way they were in to vanquish in a short time the duke's forces, and become masters of those valleys; besides the great scandal to all the protestants of Europe, that those poor people should ever subscribe or confess themselves guilty of rebellion, and so bring upon their own heads all the innocent blood of so many of their wives and children. I have already communicated what you

desire to the senate of Geneva, who do very zealously and cordially mind this business. I hear no distinct news of Mr. Downing as yet where he is, save only in a letter that I just now received from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who writes that he set out of London the 1st of August (English style), as also that he received a letter from him of the 6th of August (English style), from Bologne: I long very much to see him. Mr. Secretary sent me an English news-book, wherein there is this considerable:—That the English forces, by the cowardice of one Jackson, lost about three hundred men in Hispaniola, whereof was Major-General Heanes; whereupon they quitted Hispaniola, and landed at Jamaica, and quickly became masters of that island, in which is the town called St. Jago de la Vega, a place able to quarter two thousand men. They report that this island far surpasses Hispaniola for cattle, plantations, &c. I have no more at present, but that

I am, Sir, your affectionate servant,

SAM. MORLAND.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

10th September, 1655.

SIR,—I received a paper, directed to me as yours used to be, and written, I suppose, with the hand yours are usually written in, which, therefore, I

imagine, came from you from Geneva, although your name be not to it. I suppose Mr. Downing is arrived with you at Geneva before now, and hath communicated to you the instructions which were given to him with yourself and Mr. Morland by his highness, in reference to the persecution in Savoy. But, since his going hence, affairs have been much altered by the peace which hath been concluded ;*

* The following copy of instructions, sent to the commissioners about this time, are preserved among the Pell papers :—

1. To go to Berne, and there to complain of the late peace made by the Duke of Savoy, and how destructive it must needs be to the poor people of the valleys.

2. To let them know how it is everywhere, amongst the protestants, looked upon as a thing done with the consent of the ambassadors of the evangelical cantons, and exceedingly laid to heart ; especially, considering that a commissioner extraordinary was then upon his way from his highness of England, and another from the states of Holland ; and withal, the little respect shewn to the ambassadors of the cantons, not vouchsafing to mention them in the treaty, or rather concessions.

3. To know whether they will own and acquiesce in this treaty, or will not send new instructions to their ambassadors at Turin to complain against this peace, and seek to have it renewed and mended.

4. That they have all the reason possible so to do, considering that the treaty is not signed by their ambassadors ; that it was a thing brought on by the menaces of the French ambassador ; that things since the treaty have been foisted into it highly to the disadvantage of the protestants ; that also what is in it is not observed, but on the contrary, La Tour being now fortifying by the Duke of Savoy.

5. That yourself, and two more of us, being now at Geneva,

and that hath necessarily altered his highness's intentions, and hath occasioned the sending of other instructions to Mr. Downing, which, I suppose, are arrived with him,—viz., for his return home, to give an account of the state of affairs as he finds them ; and you and Mr. Morland are to remain at Geneva until further order concerning the distribution of the money arising by the collection, in such manner as is directed by the joint instructions delivered to Mr. Downing, which he is to leave with you ;

will be ready any or all of us to go to Turin, (where some of us, at least, will be very speedily,) there vigorously to prosecute the amendment of the treaty, and to do what further may be necessary, in case the duke will not yield thereunto.

6. That sixty thousand pounds is voluntarily gathered in England for the relief of these people ; that we are ready to dispose of it in such a way as may really tend to the good and security of the people.

7. That the case of these people may be to-morrow the case of the protestants in France, or elsewhere. And if it shall be enough, after horrible massacres, to grant such abominable concessions as these, assuredly this will be the greatest encouragement imaginable to the papists elsewhere to attempt the protestants.

8. That the treaty between his highness and the king of France is agreed, but that his highness will not sign it until he have satisfaction in this business of Piedmont ; and that as he hath caused a large contribution to be made for them, so that he cannot, nor will not, desert them.

Pasted on, in Mr. Secretary Thurloe's hand :—

“ Present my service to Mr. Pell, if he be with you. I wrote not to him, because I have not yet heard of his arrival.”

and when the way and manner of that is agreed upon, Mr. Morland is also to return, and to leave it unto you to finish that business, and to transact such other things as the providence of God may lead unto. At the present, we here cannot see what is farther to be done, considering that the Swiss have not only manifested a coldness in this business, as to any vigorous proceedings, but are now interested in the treaty of peace, and in all the disadvantages contained therein. And none other construction can be made of their letter to Turin, of which you have sent me a copy, but that they like well what is done, yet are willing to carry it civilly, and with respect to England. The print which I have sent to Mr. Downing will let you see the truth of our affairs at Jamaica. General Venables is since arrived at Portsmouth. I have not seen him yet, but he hath left things as they were when General Pen left them.

I remain, your affectionate friend and servant,

J. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. MORLAND.

Whitehall, 10th September, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours of the 28th August, old style, but the several papers which you mention to have sent with it, marked with the letters of the

alphabet, are not yet come to my hands, but I hope to receive them to-morrow, it being usual to have your packets by the same post to come a day after each other. I had all your former letters and papers, whereby, as also by the letter received by this post, I see what the state of affairs is with the Piedmontois, and what the apprehensions of their protestant neighbours are about the peace concluded between them and the duke, which do not differ from those here. But my last gave you, I trust, satisfaction as to the Protector's further interposing therein for the present. What Providence may lead unto afterwards, I cannot foresee; I think it is very good to wait upon God therein. In the meantime I cannot but observe, that until the peace was concluded, the neighbours of these poor people express no such zeal to their cause, as they now seem to do, when the state of things is now altered (as you speak). And if the Swisses would not be prevailed with before the treaty to declare themselves in any vigorous terms, it cannot be expected that now, after a peace concluded (whereof the French is upon the matter the guardian), they will advise, much less do anything towards a new irruption. If I had a right measure of their temper from Mr. Pell, as I believe I had, they were not to be engaged in this business further than to an amicable interposition, and so much they did profess in terms, as I have it in one of Mr. Pell's

letters, with the reasons of such their resolution; and it is certain whatsoever they now may pretend, they are secretly glad that the matter is now compounded. They said, they had no money; they must look to their own peace, having so many papists in their own bowels; and lastly, they must not offend France. No arguments of honour or religion will answer any one of these things; and I pray ask Mr. Pell, if these things be not so. Further addresses to the duke on this subject will be without fruit and dishonourable, as matters now stand, and may possibly tend to engage some good people to action, which we here cannot back them in. And, therefore, the resolutions signified to you by my last have been thought here the most profitable and sure,—viz., that Mr. Downing do forthwith return to give an account of the state of things, and Mr. Pell and you remain about the distribution of the money arising by the collection. And I do imagine that I may have directions by the next concerning your return also, after that the way of the distribution is agreed upon, leaving Mr. Pell to finish what shall remain behind. And if, hereafter, anything shall fall out which may administer other considerations, Mr. Pell will advertise thereof, to whom instructions may be given to proceed according as the nature of things shall require.

The news here is very little, save that General Pen is come home with part of the fleet, leaving a

good squadron behind him. He arrived here the last of August. The state of things there is represented truly by the enclosed print, and this day I have received a letter from General Venables from Portsmouth, whither he is come also in one single ship. He had his health so ill there, that he was made incapable for any service, and so is come away, and hath left the island in a good condition. I have no further to add, but

Remain your very affectionate friend,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 13th Sept. 1655, old style, Thursday.

SIR,—On Tuesday last, Mr. Downing and I received each of us a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, the substance whereof was, that they have received all our packets and informations concerning the late conclusion; that my Lord Protector was extremely troubled at it, and now begins to see that his neighbours are not so hearty and affectionate for the deliverance and establishment of those poor people as himself; and that “they are so little sensible (I put Mr. Secretary’s own words) of the blood that has been shed, and the great calamities which the protestants undergo, that they forthwith set themselves rather to compose by any means the difference, than to hazard anything, either to avenge

the bloodshed or to undertake the rights of those who do survive. The Switsers, their next neighbours, and who only were able to afford men, have drawn the people to these terms ; and if my Lord Protector had encouraged them to reject all offers contrary to the opinion of the Switsers, the states-general, and the other protestants, he had obliged himself singly, and upon his own account, to have defended them ; and which way could that have been, considering the remoteness of this and that country.”

In sum, and upon the whole, my Lord Protector is extremely troubled, and will take no resolution before he has spoken with Mr. Downing, and received an account from him of all things, and therefore has ordered Mr. Downing with all possible speed to return back to London. And, accordingly, Mr. Downing set out of Geneva towards Lyons yesterday (Wednesday), about eleven of the clock, and so will hasten for England. As for yourself and me, we are to *stay at Geneva* for further directions, as well for the distribution of the money as for what else may occur hereafter.

These are the very words ; but now Mr. Downing told me, that his letter did run thus,—viz., “ That Mr. Pell and Mr. Morland were to abide in their stations for further instructions,” so that I apprehend it will not be absolutely necessary for you to incommode yourself to return immediately to

Geneva ; however, I have sent you the very words, and you will better judge thereby what is best to do.

On Tuesday night, here did arrive the extraordinary commissioner from the states-general. Mr. Downing and I had a conference with him, and we find (as you also know, having, as I understand, met with him on the way) that he was then informed of none of the late occurrences ; but, however, he spoke very much to this purpose : that his lords were extremely sensible of the sad condition of these poor people, and were very cordial to join for their deliverance. He has since desired me earnestly to write to you to join with him in desiring a general assembly of the cantons ; and that also the said assembly may be in Losanne, or some place as near to Geneva as possible. I believe he will desire an assembly as soon as may be. We have no other news stirring ; so soon as there is, you shall hear from,

Sir, your very humble servant,

S. MORLAND.

What you will do, and how you will deal with the Switzers, you best know. It would be well if they would take some course to satisfy my Lord Protector in all points, and now join in the endeavouring a deliverance for these poor people. I know not how far you may communicate these things to the Switzers ; you will better judge.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MESSRS. DOWNING,
PELL, AND MORLAND.

Whitehall, 16th Sept. 1655, stilo veteri.

GENTLEMEN,—I have this day received your joint letter, but without any date, whereby it is hard for me to understand what you mean by the words to-morrow, or Tuesday next, which I find therein. I have communicated it to his highness, as I also have the paper sent therewith, who, having well weighed them, is of opinion, that there appears no cause for altering the former resolutions which have been sent unto you for the return of Mr. Downing, and residence of the other two of you at Geneva for the distribution of the money, and executing such other instructions as the providence of God may give occasion for. It is true it appears by your papers, both now and formerly received, that the protestants have in effect quit their cause by this treaty, taken the guilt upon themselves, and justified the duke; but it appears not that the body of them are sensible thereof (some particular persons, indeed, speak with much trouble), much less that the cantons do repent of it, or have any inclination to disown their ambassadors. The chief secretary of Zurich, in his letter to Mr. Pell, August 30, says, that the council of Zurich wished them to stay to see the treaty performed (so far are they from disallowing it), and although they

were also to stay at the desire of the English ambassadors, to co-operate with them for the good of the said inhabitants, that cannot be otherwise intended than in seeing that treaty performed ; and as for the clause at the end of that letter, that their ambassadors should contribute their endeavours to help forward such things as should be found out for those poor people above what was in the treaty, it is a very cold expression, and relates still to the treaty, which is further explained by another letter of a divinity professor, written also to Mr. Pell, where he earnestly entreats, not that a new treaty be made, but that the defects of the old one be supplied, and in such a manner as there may be a care had of their reputation. This being considered, as also the letter which the ambassadors of the Switzers wrote to Mr. Morland, of the 21-31 August, whereby they say, that the treaty being, not only concluded and ratified by the duke, but also signed, confirmed, and enrolled, by those of the valleys themselves, and a considerable part thereof executed, they could neither revoke it, nor do anything to suspend it, and the rather because it is such a treaty as doth not diminish, nay, confirms all their liberties of religion ; and that whosoever asks more for them must desire new things such as they never had before, &c. As also their letter to the people of the valleys themselves, in which they

commend and justify this treaty in every part thereof. I say, these things being weighed, it could not be apprehended here that any hope remained of obtaining other terms for those people, in conjunction with the cantons, as things now stand; but, on the contrary, if those things were asked which were just, necessary, and significant, it would be against the opinion of the Switzers, and that which they would hold themselves in honour obliged to oppose, in maintenance of that treaty which they have interested themselves so far in. And if upon such demand a new irruption should follow, things would be quite upon another foot than they were before, when the duke began the war and massacre, to the abhorrence of all the protestant world, yea, even of the papists in France; but now it would be looked upon as that which was blown up by my Lord Protector, irritating those people to break their faith with the duke, after a treaty concluded by the advice, and with the consent, of the evangelical cantons, not for defending their old liberties, but for obtaining new concessions; and it cannot be thought that their ambassadors have proceeded without the knowledge and direction of their superiors. And whatever is said now by them is to no other end than to carry it fair with England, after such a transaction as this is; wherein (to speak plainly) no great friendship was expressed to England,

nor zeal to the protestant cause ; but, however, you are to maintain all good friendship and correspondence with them.

The case being thus stated,—viz., that the Switzers will not in honour set aside that treaty, nor my Lord Protector in judgment and conscience do anything that may imply his approbation thereof, as he would if he should say anything about the execution of any one particular in it, or complain that La Tour is not dismantled, or any other part not observed ; and besides, upon the news of the agreement, the Dutch have either absolutely resolved not to send their commissioners, or are at least uncertain in it ; it will be very hard to know in what manner further applications are at present to be made to the duke, at least not until one of yourselves be spoken with, from whom his highness may understand the true state of this whole business, and all the circumstances thereof, for which purpose Mr. Downing is sent for home ; and thereupon such further resolutions will be taken as we shall see the lords making way for. And in the meantime, the other two of you will be there ready to inform yourselves of all occurrences, and communicate the same hither, as also consider of the best way and manner of disposing the collected money, as you were directed by my last. I rest, your very affectionate friend and faithful servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 18th Sept. 1655, old style.

SIR,—About two days ago I received this enclosed note, which I suppose is your hand, without name, date, or place where you were. I have sent you a copy of the commission ; I have also sent you a copy of the attestation, which Ambassador Stockar (who arrived last Friday night) gave me to shew that he is altogether innocent as to this late heady treaty. He altogether disowns it, and says, he will protest against it in the general assembly ; you will know what use to make of this for your advantage. He made a long narrative of his proceedings at Turin and Pignerol. He says, that Ambassador Hirtzell was the chief promoter of the treaty, and that he believes they will be all called to account for it. I have sent a relation of all the particular conferences between him and me, as also between him and the Holland ambassador, this day by an express after Mr. Downing, who, as I formerly wrote to you, is by a special order sent for back into England to make a report of the whole, and you and I commanded to abide at Geneva, or in our stations. The Parisian letter I cannot presently send you, but will so soon as I can. In the meantime, I remain,

Sir, your faithful servant,

SAM. MORLAND.

He says, that the other three ambassadors were afraid to come through Geneva.

I had sealed up my letter, and forgot one thing, which is, Mr. Downing opened your last packet for some news concerning our affairs, and by some accident forgot to send you these two letters, one for yourself from Mr. Secretary, and the other for Mr. Ulrich, which I have now enclosed, having found them among the rest of the papers he left me.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 1st October, 1655, old style.

SIR,—I sent you an answer to your last, and in it Mr. Secretary's letter to me ; since that, I sent you a packet by one of Amb. Ommeren's company. I hope both are come safe to your hands. This morning, I received some papers that are come lately from the valleys, whereby I perceive the duke intends the total ruin and destruction of those poor and miserable people, and that speedily. I have also received another paper of discourses of the reasons why this affair ought not to be abandoned, or left in that miserable posture that now it is in. Sir, you know best what will be fit to be spoken to the Switzers, and in what manner ; for my part, I do verily believe that they have been, and yet are, too little sensible of their own interest in this business, much less of the interest of the protestant cause, and the miseries of their afflicted brethren. I have had

several discourses with Ambassador Stockar lately before his departure ; he lays the fault upon the other three ambassadors and the deputies. His discourse, as I have formerly hinted, savours much of a confused and distracted mind. I verily believe he is very sorely afflicted concerning this treaty ; sometimes he much exclaimed against the ministers here, especially Mr. Leger, for having raised lies and scandals to blemish their reputation ; otherwhiles he confessed that he was extremely troubled at the carriage of affairs, and desired nothing so much, in this world, as to have an opportunity to go again to Turin, though to the hazarding of his life and goods. I pray God grant that in this assembly some way may be thought of to redress this affair, and appease my Lord Protector, who certainly has been much provoked by their precipitation, and little regard to his highness's zeal and affection.* I beg your pardon for this trouble ; I

* It appears, from various documents of the times, that the disadvantageous terms of the peace into which the Piedmontese had been induced to enter, were generally attributed to French interference and intimidation, while the tame and selfish conduct of the Swiss cantons excited the disgust of all sound protestants.—*Thurloe*, iii. 742. The following is the account given by Bordeaux, the French ambassador in England, of the manner in which his announcement of this smuggled treaty was received at the English court :—" My lord,—Having an occasion, at the beginning of the last week, to send to the secretary of state, I signified unto him the accommodation of those of the valleys with the Duke of Savoy. He was only pleased to say, that my news was true. Since this, the express of Mr. Down-

could not satisfy myself without communicating to you what I received, that, in case you should find it convenient to say anything, you might be fully informed of all things, as also to testify that

I am, Sir, your very affectionate servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 2nd October, 1655, old style,
One of the clock, afternoon.

SIR,—This day, about twelve, I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, directed to Mr. Downing, yourself, and me; the which I was necessitated to open, that so I might be instructed in what concerned myself. And, forasmuch as this letter contains a very solid discourse concerning present affairs, I have, the very same hour, sent it to you

ing arrived. I sent him word, in the absence of my commissioners, that I had received order to signify unto the Lord Protector that his recommendation to the king was followed with the same effect which could be expected. He received this compliment with much coolness and trouble of mind, taking only upon him to make report thereof. It seems they are generally troubled that the peace should be made without their interposition; and I see in all their pamphlets, that they affect to weaken the merit of the offices which M. Servien hath done, and to impute to him, that by threatenings he forced the Vaudois to accept of the declaration of the Duke of Savoy, which is very disadvantageous to them; yea, they proceed so far as to accuse the ambassadors of Switzerland of having suffered themselves to be corrupted; from whence one may judge, that his majesty will receive but little thanks from hence for what he hath done.”—*Thurloe*, iii. 745.

enclosed in this letter, by an express, and trust it will come in time.

Sir, it will be neither becoming my abilities nor quality to presume to entreat you to remember the distressed condition of those poor people of the valleys, who are now almost without all hope. I have sent you, both now and formerly, all those papers which I have received since your departure which may any way touch upon this subject, and leave the judgment of all to God and yourself, beseeching him of his infinite mercy so to direct you, that all your endeavours may be to his glory, your own comfort, and the real good of those poor people.* This is the prayer of him who is, in much truth and sincerity, Sir, your very humble, faithful, and affectionate servant,

SAM. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, October 10th, 1655, old style.

SIR,—Mr. Morland tells me, that he sent you my letters that I had written to him from Berne, September 17th and 24th. In those there was some mention of my intention to go to Payerne.

* Morland wrote privately, more than once, to Thurloe, complaining heavily of Pell's general indolence, and particularly of his want of zeal in the cause of the Waldenses. A letter from Thurloe, about two months after the above date, called him to his duties with more effect, but he appears to have always conducted himself towards Morland with an unpleasant tone of superiority and reserve.—*Thurloe*, iv. 253, 304, 326, 341.

There, Oct. 1st, in the morning, began the assembly of the deputies from all the evangelical cantons, and all their confederates, save only from Geneva and the Grisons, who sent excuses. The Grisons are too far off, so that they had not timely notice ; and the Genevenses, though they take it kindly to be invited to all such meetings, yet never appear, for fear of displeasing the French king, their protector.

The first thing of note that was done in that assembly was, the sending of a committee to M. H. Van Ommeren's lodging, to accompany him to their meeting-place, where, as commissioner extraordinary from the United Provinces, he made them a speech in Latin, and delivered them a written copy of it. The next morning some of them brought him an answer, and delivered to him a copy of it written in High Dutch, which he saith he understands not. He hath promised me the sight of both, but hath not yet sent them to me.

Their next care was about the penning of a resolution concerning the Waldenses of Piedmont, to be delivered to us both. That which was given to me I keep, but I have here sent you a copy of it, written by my own hand. They seem to believe that their ambassadors did all that they could to procure better conditions for the poor men, and to retard the conclusion, in expectation of English and Dutch ambassadors.

Their third and last business was, to consider what resolutions to take amongst themselves in re-

gard of the intolerable insolence of the popish cantons, and of the great probability that it would very shortly break out into a civil war all over Switzerland. In what manner to represent this to the English and the Dutch commissioners then in the town, and to desire pecuniary assistance from both commonwealths beforehand. So, October 4th, in the morning, there came to me four of them, from each of the four cities one, where the president of the assembly made a long and well-ordered speech to me in High Dutch concerning that business. I answered him in Latin, that I had very well understood all his proposal, and would not fail to signify their desires to his highness. But I cannot this week perform that promise, because they gave me no copy of his speech, nor so much as a breviat of the heads of it ; and besides, in it he made mention of some papers which he would send me, concerning the popish resolutions. I hope to receive them before the next go hence. In the meantime, I shall endeavour to call to mind such things as I have but lightly touched at this time.

The same day, October 4th, the assembly dissolved, and after dinner all left Payerne. Whilst I was there, Mr. Morland had sent me your letters to myself, and that of September 16th to us all three jointly. In them all I perceived that you still supposed me to continue at Geneva ; wherefore I returned not to Berne or Zurich, which the deputies of both cities seemed much to desire, but told them

I must go to Geneva to speak with Mr. Morland before he went thence ; for I perceived he was in expectation of revocatory letters. The Low Dutch commissioner returned also to Geneva, taking horse almost two hours before me ; and accordingly I kept all the way behind him, so that he entered Geneva about two hours sooner than I.

On Monday, October 8th, he sent a gentleman to me, desiring a conference with me and Mr. Morland, in one of our lodgings. We met in my lodging. There he shewed us letters from the Hague, with a resolution of the states-general, appointing him to reside at Berne, and to correspond with their ambassador in France, M. Boreel ; as also that their ambassador in England, M. H. Nieuport, should signify to my Lord Protector their sense of the affairs of Piedmont, &c. It was dated September 24th, new style. I make no question but you have seen it long ere this, so that I need not make any larger relation of it, but rather may break off for this time, reserving a larger account till the next post. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

October 17th, 1655, old style.

SIR,—Of the Low Dutch commissioners' conference with us both, I made mention in my last to yourself, dated October 10th.

October 11th, we went together to his lodging to repay his visit. I asked him whether he had yet resolved to go to Berne. He answered, not till he were again commanded to go thither, because he saw that his superiors' commands were founded upon two false suppositions: the one, that the English deputies were there, the other, that Berne was the presiding canton. But he had written home, and signified that not Berne, but Zurich, was the chief canton, and usual residence for those that treat with the evangelical Switzers; and that not Berne, but Geneva, was the best place for information concerning Savoy and Piedmont, and at this time the fittest for easy communication of counsels with the English deputies, who at this present were both there. He then shewed us a French translation of that answer which he had received at Payerne in High Dutch. He had caused that version to be made, that he might understand it. He promised to send us a copy both of his proposition and of that translation, but hath not yet performed it. In it they make some mention of effectual (they mean pecuniary) assistance.

October 14th, letters came from the valleys of Piedmont to some here, of which I hope Mr. Morland will send you copies by this post. They describe the lamentable estate of the poor Waldenses there, which well agrees with what the ambassador of Berne said to me in the end of his relation, September 21st. He recommended their

condition to my care, assuring me that they were the proper objects of commiseration, needing all things, having nothing fit for men, no clothes to cover them but the ragged remainders of what they fled in. Their chiefest minister, besides other goods, had a good library to accommodate his brethren withal, but hath now nothing left save the poor clothes on his back, and a little psalm-book that was in his pocket when he escaped the massacre. They have hardly any linen among them ; no coverings for them against the excessive cold weather approaching ; a very great number among them sick and weak for want of mere necessities, not having room enough to lodge them, but pestered together, the drooping and sickly among those that were more dangerously diseased and hopeless, &c. He therefore prayed me to endeavour that part of the English collection might be speedily distributed amongst them ; for otherwise they would seem not preserved from the sword, but reserved for famine and contagious diseases, this winter being likely to starve them all with hunger and cold, if speedy supplies were not sent to them.

Yesterday, I received a packet from Zurich from him that had been the secretary of the assembly at Payerne. It contained a Latin translation of that answer which they had there given in High Dutch to M. H. Van Ommeren. There was also a letter, in French, to Mr. Morland, which he intends to translate, and send to you by this week's post.

That letter, and the aforesaid Latin answer, contains, in a manner, all the material points of the president's speech to me, October 4th, at Payerne. And therefore I suppose they have not thought fit to send me any other breviat or memorial of the heads of that speech. I hope we shall have copies of both ready to send with our letters by that time that the post goes out of Geneva; where

I remain, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, October 18th, 1655, old style.

THE papists of the canton of Appenzel have lately made a decree among themselves, that no man shall sell any house or land in their quarter to any, though of the same canton, if he be not a papist. That and some other provocations have put the protestant part of that canton upon some vigorous resolutions. They say, they will forthwith drive out all the nuns that have hitherto been connived at in their quarters; and it is said, they have given them very short warning to be gone.

The Nicodemites that came hither out of Switz are here much made of, and have all manner of liberty. They have made open confession of their faith, with exceeding great satisfaction of all those that were present at the committee appointed to hear them. Their confession was very distinct and orthodox in all points. They were very ready in

confirming all by the most pregnant places of Scripture. The young man of Switz that lately escaped out of prison, and came hither since the rest, confirms them much. He assures them, that the rest of their brethren, yet in prison there, do remain very constant. He speaks of the papists, his countrymen, with much detestation of their idolatry and cruelty.

The great council of two hundred here in Zurich have ordered their militia. He that was general against the rebels of Berne is to remain in Zurich. He that was his lieutenant-general is now to be general for the field. They have appointed all the other field-officers. We speak of a meeting of the protestants at Arraw shortly. Some of the popish cantons begin to speak of a general meeting of all at Baden, for the composing of all these controversies ; but others think that the capuchins, and other emissaries of the court of Rome, have wound up all to a height beyond all composure. The ambassadors of the popish cantons, that were sent to invite the (popish) Bishop of Basil into their league, are not yet returned. The Bishop of Constance hath had a meeting with some of his neighbour prelates.

Berne hath sent two of their principal senators as ambassadors into Switz, to let them know, that if they will not hearken to reason, they shall find that they have not to do with Zurich alone. These troubles are likely to work considerable effects upon the Nicodemites in the other popish cantons.

Some of them, perhaps, may grow more fearful to discover themselves ; but others will declare themselves with so much the more courage.

For the better understanding of some of these passages, I have thought it not amiss to add, that the protestants that live among the papists, and dare not declare themselves, are called Nicodemites.* Such were those men and women, which with their children made up the number of thirty-five, that about the middle of September last came to Zurich, saying, that they had left considerable estates behind them in the popish canton of Switz. Zurich wrote to those of Switz to let their goods follow them ; but the Switenses refused, and recalled their fugitives, threatening to confiscate their estates if they appeared not by a day named ; and presently apprehended and imprisoned all those whom they had observed to have been of inward acquaintance with the foresaid fugitives, and therefore suspected to be also in their hearts averse from popery.

September the 27th, the deputies of the protestant cantons, &c., met at Berne. The next day, in the morning, they met and sat till three of the o'clock in the afternoon. The citizens wondered that they were so long consulting how to order their business at Payerne (October 1st) ; but after

* The reference is to Nicodemus, who made his visit to the Redeemer by night, for fear of the Jews. John, iii. 2.

the deputies came forth, it was known that they had been writing letters in the name of the protestant cantons and their confederates to some of the popish cantons, desiring them to advise the Switenses to recede from their violent resolutions. But whilst these deputies were at Payerne, they received letters signifying that those of Switz seemed rather more furious and intractable, using much cruelty to those whom they had put in prison ; which news seemed to nettle the deputies, and to give them occasion to speak of preparation for war in good earnest, though they made no question but that the popish cantons would not be so intolerably insolent if they were not confident of assistance of men and money from Milan and Rome, and perhaps from some other popish princes, with whom they are in league for the defence of popery against all the world. At least, they were certain that the lesser popish cantons had an agent from the Duke of Savoy this last summer, pretending only to give them true information concerning the valleys of Piedmont ; but, perhaps, praying them to give the protestants some work to divert them from invading Savoy.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

1st November, 1655.

SIR,—I had not your letter of the 10th of October, and so am ignorant of any part of the conference you had with the Dutch commissioner, save

what I find in yours of the 17th, received the last post, concerning his return to Berne, whither it seems he was at first misled by the mistake of his superiors in their instructions to him. I have received the answer the cantons gave to the said commissioner in one of Mr. Morland's letters. I should be glad also to see his proposition, which I cannot now hope for until the next post, unless furnished with it before some other way. It seems the cantons intended their answer to Monsieur Ommeren to serve for one to your speech also. I suppose, if they think fit to give any in writing, you will send it; however, it will be necessary to let us have a copy of your speech to them, because we may have occasion to refer to it in such directions as may be sent you hereafter.

I perceive by yours, as also by Mr. Morland's, what a lamentable state the poor Waldenses are in, being in the want of all things, whereby we see the necessity of distributing some part of the money amongst them, which his highness is ready to give order in, in case you had given any light into the way and manner of doing it. For, although it must be left to you upon your place to make the distribution, yet it is necessary that his highness should know beforehand what method is to be observed therein; and if satisfied that its issues will accomplish his desires; to wit, that those who are most deserving, are in most want, and reduced to the greatest necessities by this war, may have this charity;

and in case he had been informed of the manner observed in distributing the 2000*l.*, it would have been some light into this. I desire you with Mr. Morland to take some pains in this, and to signify what you shall do therein with all speed. I do not perceive by yours that the Dutch commissioner and you have communicated at all concerning further evidences to be used for amending the treaty on the behalf of the Waldenses, nor that the cantons have made any advance that way, in pursuance of their resolutions made at Payerne; from your silence wherein, and not knowing by yours whether this would find the Dutch commissioner at Geneva, we are here in much uncertainty what instructions to give you upon that subject. All, therefore, which occurs for the present is, that you do assure both the one and the other of his highness's good inclinations towards those poor people in the valleys, and the continuance of his resolutions to contribute all in his power for their comfort and relief, and that you both are commanded to communicate with them concerning the means which may be found proper for obtaining an alteration of those points in the treaty which are judged prejudicial. And you are to communicate with them accordingly, and endeavour to understand what their minds and intentions are therein, which you are to signify hither, with what else shall occur to you concerning the true state of those affairs; that thereupon such further instructions may be given to you as

shall be necessary. I pray acquaint Mr. Morland herewith, I having not time to write so particularly to him of this matter.

I have sent you the declaration concerning Spain, whereby you will see the state of that business, and what the condition is like to be as to a war with them. The peace with France is concluded. It will be necessary to advise with the gravest and most prudent men of Geneva, who have a love to the protestant cause, concerning the means of procuring some amendment of the aforesaid treaty.

I am, Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

J. T.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, November 7.

SIR,—The last week I sent you a sheet in Latin, and notes upon it in another half-sheet, besides some intelligence from Zurich, and a letter to me from the magistrates of that city, dated Oct. 21. Five days ago, I received another from them, dated Oct. 30, which I now send you herewith. In it they mention a letter from Piedmont. I have delivered it to Mr. Morland, who hath undertaken to see it Englished, and to send it to you this week. M. H. Van Ommeren received a letter from Zurich of the same date and tenour, as we found in comparing them together. He asked me what I thought fit to be done. I answered, that if I had been nearer to

Arraw, I would have gone thither, and have spoken with them more freely than I could write ; but we could not get thither before the end of that assembly, nor knew we well what to write, because our instructions were not yet come from England. But seeing they desired both him and me to let their deputies at Arraw know our opinions concerning Piedmont and Switz, I conceived it fit that we should both write to Arraw, and give them notice that we had received their letters, but could not descend to any particular advice before we had received our next letters from home ; but then we would write more largely to the senate of Zurich.

In my last week's notes, I wrote that I had written to Zurich for a copy of the league which the popish cantons renewed about the middle of September last. They have translated it into Latin and sent it me. I here send you a copy of it written out by my own hand. When I consider what they there say, I am apt to believe that their new league differed not from this, save only that they put in a paragraph for the admittance of Carlo Borromeo for their patron and protecting saint ; of which paragraph I shall perhaps hereafter get a copy. I expect also from them shortly an account of what they did at Arraw. There will be a meeting of all the thirteen cantons at Baden, Nov. 11th, where they say the French ambassador will be, hoping to get the protestant cantons now to renew their league

with France, which, I think, they will not do so hastily.

That money which had been delivered for me at Whitehall in August last was not paid to me here till the last week, that is about ten or eleven weeks after. These journeys to and fro have been very costly, and the appearing at Payerne, where I thought it was not fit that the Low Dutch commissioner should much exceed me in train, he having no greater title than I, and therefore giving me place wheresoever we met. In one month I spent more than the double of my ordinary allowance. I hope before this time there is a warrant signed for money for

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 8th November, 1655.

SIR,—I suppose the orders you will receive herewith for distribution of the money will cost you some pains, that possibly you will not be so much at leisure for other things, yet I desire you to be very inquisitive after the progress of the business between the cantons of Zurich and Switz, which seems to be very considerable in the beginnings of it, and may have a very great consequence ; and may make state affairs work otherwise in those parts of the world than some men could have imagined,

when they saw the treaty with the Piedmontois concluded, and so (as they thought) all matters hushed. Concerning further endeavours to be made for the Waldenses, I can add nothing to what I said by my last. It is good to consult very seriously with the Dutch ambassador about it, as to the things to be insisted upon, and the manner of doing it. To do it slightly, will not be either honourable for us, or profitable for the people; and the opinion here is, not to begin it unless there be resolution firm and fixed to go through with it effectually. I pray advise, and give an account thereof with all speed.

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

19th November, 1655.

SIR,—I received yours of the 7th instant, and therewith the copy of a letter written unto you from the consul and senate of Zurich of the 30th of October, as also a copy of the league renewed by the popish cantons; and in Mr. Morland's packet, the copy of a letter written to the Switzers by the poor men of the valleys of Piedmont, concerning their present condition; by all which we imagine the ill state that the reformed religion and the pro-

fessors thereof are in, in those parts of the world. And his highness, I do assure you, hath a sense thereof, agreeable to the nature of the thing, and will never be wanting to contribute all in his power for the putting those affairs into a better state ; and as to that concerning Piedmont, he hath been always ready to consider of their condition in such manner as might be most for their relief. You may remember that his highness, upon the first news of the massacre, did write to the protestant cantons, and other protestant states, to stir them up to mind that business ; and afterwards sent extraordinary commissioners towards the Duke of Savoy, to join with the Dutch and Swiss commissioners to the duke on their behalf ; by conjunction with whom, he did not doubt but to have made such a peace as might have restored them to what they had lost, and secured them for the future. But the peace being concluded in the presence of the Swiss ambassadors, before either his highness's or the Dutch commissioners could arrive, that opportunity was lost. And although we are now by means thereof put to play an after-game, and do undertake a much more difficult work, in respect the treaty is not only finished as aforesaid, but the people concerned therein have written to his highness, to desire him to thank the French king for the pains he took by his ambassador, Mons. Servient, to make so good a treaty for them, and the Swiss

ambassadors themselves writing after to his highness in commendation thereof; yet his highness is most willing to use all fitting means for the amendment thereof, and doth direct that you should signify the same unto those you received your letters from, with this, that his highness thinks it most necessary that the particular things to be insisted upon, for the alteration of the treaty and amendment thereof, be first agreed upon, as well between them as the states-general, before any address be made to the duke; as also the means by which the things desired shall be endeavoured to be accomplished. In both which his highness is of opinion things very effectual should be insisted upon. To ask that which will be of little avail if granted, or to ask things to purpose in such manner as would but teach the duke to deny them, would be alike dishonourable to the askers, and leave these people in a worse condition than they are; and therefore his highness would have you to communicate freely in these things, both with them of Zurich, as also with the Dutch extraordinary commissioner, that so you may come to a perfect knowledge of their full mind and intentions therein. And thereupon you are to certify unto his highness, what the particulars are which they would have amended in the treaty, and what they will do for the effecting thereof; and then you shall receive such instructions as his highness, upon considera-

tion of the whole, shall think most convenient for that affair. And this way of proceeding has been pitched upon here in three respects:—First, neither the poor people themselves, nor any others in their behalf, have represented to his highness the particular defects which are in the treaty. Secondly, it is supposed that the Swiss, by their ambassadors who were employed in the treaty, do better understand the true state of that business, and know better what is necessary and reasonable to be asked, than we that are at this distance. Thirdly, the papers that have been sent hither, concerning the defects of this treaty, have in some things differed from themselves, and much more from those which were sent upon the same subject to the states-general. Now which of these, or whether something between them both, were the most convenient, his highness thought it best for his own information to put it in this way, as also for avoiding many inconveniences which would fall out in this business, if we should either ask different things, or desert a joint prosecution of them after we had once begun. And this is all that is necessary to be said to you upon this subject, wherein you are to communicate and advise with Mr. Morland during his abode at Geneva, and to use all diligence to bring these things to some maturity. In the meantime, his highness will use his utmost endeavours with the French king, on the behalf of the aforesaid poor

distressed protestants, which you shall also let the duke and Swiss commissioners know.

As for the business of Switz, we perceive by the aforesaid letter from Zurich to yourself, that the ambassadors of the evangelical cantons sent unto those of Switz were returned *re infecta*, and were to make report of their proceedings to their principals at Arraw at a day then to come, when further resolutions were to be taken concerning that business, the issue whereof we suppose we may receive from you by the next ; until when, his highness doth not see what he can say upon that subject, more than that you do assure them in his name, that he hath not a greater sense of his own, or the safety of this commonwealth, than he hath of the good and welfare of them and the common evangelical interest in those parts ; whereof he will make demonstration at all times as he shall have opportunity.

I have herewith sent you the declaration against Spain, translated into Latin. We have no news but what is in the print enclosed. I shall give direction to the treasurer to be more careful to pay your warrants, and be ready to serve you in what else concerns your own particular ; which assure yourself shall be considered as to your extraordinary expenses occasioned by travelling up and down.

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, November 14.

SIR, — Yesterday noon, having opened your packet, I sent one of the copies of the declaration to Mr. Morland ; and as soon as I had written into Switzerland, I went to him myself with your letter to me. He said he had a shorter from you, but did not shew it me ; he had not been abroad in seven or eight days, but he resolved to go to M. H. Van Ommeren, and to say such things to him as we both had agreed on. He told me, that you had received his letter of October 10th, and therefore he wondered that mine of the same date was not come to your hand ; for he said he sent it by the same post, and so far as he can remember, under the same covert with his own. I hope it will at length find the way to you, and that mine of later date, as Oct. 24th, 31st, and Nov. 7th, are come orderly and safely to you. The last week, I sent you a copy of another letter written to me from the magistrates of Zurich ; and also a copy of the religious league which the popish cantons made about seventy years ago. It is very likely that it differs not from that which they renewed in September last, and so the divines of Zurich seem also to say in their adjoined letter. The fast, of which they make mention in the end of it, is appointed to be observed by all the protestant cantons and their confederates, even at Geneva, Nov. 22, old style.

I have received a letter from the secretary of the assembly at Arraw, acknowledging the receipt of mine of Nov. 3rd, and promising me an account from the deputies there. But I hear they went thence to Baden, and so it is likely that, at the end of that assembly, they will in one letter give me some account of what was done in both. They will be glad to hear of England's peace with France, and war with Spain; for it is in these countries a general observation with hardly any exception,—the papists are for Spain, the protestants are for France. And although at this time they have no great reason to love France, yet as long as the house of Austria is so great, they do not wish France less powerful than it is, lest the balance should become more uneven. But if the power of Austria and Spain were considerably abated, the Switzers' jealousy over France would increase visibly. But their jealousy and enmity is hardly worth taking notice of abroad, so long as they are balanced at home by their popish confederates. That they may become more useful, it is necessary that they crush those popish cantons, which seems to be the work that they have now in hand; but it will be hardly effected, without help from those friends who are too far off to send them any assistance but pecuniary; and they think they need no other.

As for Piedmont, I hope some of Mr. Morland's late letters will give you some satisfaction for the

manner of distributing the money which hath been sent them out of France since the pacification. For though the reformed churches of France seemed highly displeased with somebody for the conclusion of that treaty, yet they sent new supplies, which, by deputies from the church of Grenoble, and of the synod of Dauphiné, were distributed with consideration of the former losses and present necessities of those that are yet alive. And if any instructions come to my hand for sending money thither, unless a better way be prescribed me, I intend to write to Grenoble, praying the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiné to take the like course. Monsieur Calandrin saith he hath had some English money long in his hands, and would be glad to receive order to make it over to Grenoble. For the Hollanders made over their money so, as that it will not be paid till the fair of Lyons, in December.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. P.

From Berne, November 9th.—You told us, that if we were not *polemici* as well as *politici*, we should lose all the reputation and dominion that our ancestors left us. If you were here now, you would say we meant to be polemical. We are preparing for war openly. Our general (Erlach) is not gone to the general assembly at Baden: he is about the city. Our council of war consult day and night.

From Zurich, November 8th.—They write from Arraw, that our deputies there are all of one mind. The citizens of Baden have taken in some companies of soldiers to guard their city.

The abbots and monks thereabout are removing their images, relics, and other trinkets, to places of more safety. We have chosen preachers for the field; some of them begin already to encourage their hearers to quit themselves like men. The madness, outrage, and railing, of our popish neighbours is incredible. Some of them are more moderate. The abbots which have revenues in the protestant cantons have not yet received any profits of the last harvest and vintage; they fear a confiscation. At Richenaw, there hath been a meeting of the prelates of Tyrol with the neighbouring popish bishops and abbots of Switzerland, to consult about their affairs. The city of St. Gall stands upon its guard, fearing a surprisal, because it is encompassed with popish neighbours; but the protestant part of Appenzell will have a care of them. We have once more written to Switz, warning them to use no violence to their prisoners. The three leagues of the Grisons have sent each of them four deputies to Chur (in Rhætia), to consult concerning the present motions. The (popish) Bishop of Chur thought himself not safe: he is retired into Tyrol.

From Zurich, November 15th, old style.—At Lucerne, they had a new stage-play, wherein St. Carlo Borromeo was most humbly prayed to take the catholic Helvetians into his protection. His promise caused the comedy to end with great joy.

The Switenses have put to death three of their prisoners; so that it seems our religion is grown to be a capital crime among them.

From Zurich, the same day: another hand.—The deputies of the protestant cantons had a very friendly conference at Arraw. From thence they went towards Baden; but, because that is a popish town, they spent the Lord's day at Kingsfield, a protestant village a little short of Baden. A false rumour had been spread, that some soldiers from Zurich were coming to take possession of Baden; whereupon the inhabitants filled their town with soldiers, and began to set pioneers to work, intending to remain subject to the eight most ancient cantons, as they had been for many years. The council of war at Zurich had speedy notice of this new garrison, and advertised our de-

puties, before they parted from Arraw, who presently sent an express to those of Baden, to give notice of the deputies coming to a general assembly ; and to tell them, that if they found any soldiers in their town, or any piece of new fortification undemolished, they would make them all repent it. This drove out all the soldiers.

Here was also another rumour, that those of Switz had proceeded to the execution of some of their late prisoners, notwithstanding the contrary advice of some popish cantons, and of the Bishop of Constance, and of other neighbouring prelates, yea, even of Monsieur de la Barde, the French ambassador in Switzerland. Wherefore the council of Zurich sent order to their deputies, that, if at their coming to Baden, they found this report to be true, they should refuse to sit near the deputies of those murderers, and should endeavour to draw the deputies of the other protestant cantons to the same resolution. But, because this would dissolve the assembly, the foresaid ambassador and some others have persuaded them to tarry at Baden ; but, instead of their usual sessions, the interposers go to and fro between the parties, and treat with both by visits. And this is all the account that we have hitherto of Baden.

Here, in Zurich, we abate nothing of our diligent preparations. No colonel or captain out of his post assigned him ; no citizen or countryman that doth not lay his arms upon his table every night, that he may find them at what hour soever the first piece of cannon shall be discharged, which is the general signal for every one to run to his rendezvous. You would wonder to see the abundance of ammunition in readiness ; the artillery mounted upon their carriages ; and six vessels, as great as our lake will admit, fitted by the general of the artillery, and armed with six pieces of cannon, lying here at anchor. Above all, our people courageous, and resolved no longer to endure the intolerable insolence of those whom they now count infamous. The said general of the artillery went hence, yesterday morning early, to Cappel, a place within a league of Zug, where, a little after the reformation of religion in Zurich, our ancestors were worsted by the papists. He intends there to build a

redoubt, that, if need be, we may have a post in that plain. We have not yet any where proceeded to acts of hostility; but it will be accounted a miracle if we escape a war at this time. The insupportable wrongs done to those of our religion in the prefectures subject to popish cantons, as well as to ours; the daily upbraiding our people with that loss at Cappel; the old popish league newly sworn by them, though it be incompatible with our national alliances; all these put us upon thoughts of hazarding all our lives and estates, rather than to suffer such insolence. Yet our hearts are not so great, but that now and then we remember the uncertain issues of war.

From Geneva, November 21st, old style.—Our magistrates have received this week two letters out of Switzerland, one from the senate of Berne, and the other from the deputies of Zurich and Berne, now met at Baden. By command of the senate, they were both translated into French, and communicated to the English and Dutch commissioners here. Our hearts ache to think upon this Helvetian war. If the protestant cantons wholly vanquish the other, no doubt the sacred consistory at Rome will be more troubled at it than at the loss of whole Poland. But if the popish cantons, as is likely, get greater assistance than the other, the protestants, having no help but ours, may be overcome for want of sufficient and timely supply. What will then become of Geneva, that hath been a city of refuge to so many considerable persons, exiles for religion, out of almost all countries? And what will then become of the reformed churches in France and Germany?

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

15th November, 1655.

SIR,—I received from you, by this post, the copy of a letter sent to you from the consul and senate of Zurich; the Latin paper concluded upon at

Payerne, representing the state of their own affairs, with two of the articles made between the king of Spain and the popish cantons, anno 1634; and lastly, some observations of yours thereupon. All which I have read to his highness, who is very sorry to hear that the protestant cantons are like to fall into difficulties, and to be involved in a war by their popish confederates, who he did not apprehend until now were so considerable as to take up arms against the protestants, the common opinion being, that some one of the protestant cantons was able to deal with all those who are popish; and the Spaniard doth not seem to be in a condition to give those of his religion any great assistance, having enough to do to defend himself. But in case things continue with them as these papers seem to represent (whereof his highness doubts not you will give him a full and particular account), he will be ready to communicate with them concerning the means of obviating the mischievous designs of the popish party against them, and all others of the same profession.

You and Mr. Morland had orders by my last, (which were sent, as well by the ordinary way, as also under Mr. Chamberlayne's cover to Mr. Calandrin,) for the distributing of seven thousand pounds sterling amongst the poor protestants of Savoy, which I hope will arrive with you in time. Great care and exactness is to be used in the equal

distribution hereof, in respect the nation looks for an account of it. And you are to consider, and take very good advice, in what way the remainder collected upon this account, which will be above thirty thousand pounds more, may be employed for the best advantage of this people for whom it was intended.

We had letters this day from the Barbadoes, that our fleet sent last into the West Indies, consisting of twelve ships, wherein was a regiment of foot soldiers, arrived there, in very good health, the 31st of August, and intended, through the blessing of God, to be with the army in Jamaica within a short time after. The peace with France is ratified on both sides, and the war with Spain is like to proceed. I had almost forgot the mention made in the paper of Payerne of the Swisses' desire to be included in the treaty with France; his highness will endeavour it, in case the French will agree thereto.

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

November 28, Geneva.

SIR,—What money we have received of Mr. Calandrin, and how we intend to convey it to

Grenoble, Mr. Morland will tell you, who hath also promised me to send you the translation of the heads of that speech which was lately made here to me, to him, and to M. H. Van Ommeren, severally. I shall be careful to get and send you full information in continuation of the enclosed intelligence, as you will me in yours of November 15th.

I rest, your humble and faithful servant.

From Zurich, November 22nd, old style.—Monday, November the 12th, most of the deputies of the cantons met at Baden; some papists were absent, because of some holidays to be observed. Monsieur de la Barde, the French ambassador, came hither from Soloturn, with a very fair and great train. He made them a speech, earnestly exhorting them to union, and afterward entertained all the deputies at a banquet. When Zurich had declared their complaints against Switz, they answered, “that they were sovereigns in their own country, and if they roasted their subjects, they need not give any man account of their so doing. Other answer than this,” they said, “they would give none.” The deputies of Zurich replied, “If ye do not give a better answer, we shall be constrained to make use of such means as God hath given us.” So they offered to leave Baden and come home to give order that their army should presently march out of Zurich into the field; but the other protestant cantons, and some of the more moderate popish deputies, prevailed with them to tarry, promising to endeavour to draw Switz to some reason. Zug, Friburg, and Soloturn, seem to have most moderation, but they draw all in one string. Rome encourages them, Milan promiseth them, Austria threatens us. Our neighbouring friends are as cold as the weather. Uri was wont to be very moderate, and Lucerne was saved by Zurich from utter ruin in the last rebellion; and, therefore, all men wondered to find these two cantons taking the part of Switz against Zurich; but we have been told, that it is the contrivance

of a few incendiaries ; and, indeed, we hear that Lucern hath taken notice of the horrible slanders that began to be spread concerning those of our religion, and hath published an edict commanding all their subjects to abstain from those slanders under pain of their lives.

On Friday last, November 16th, they had a hot dispute at Baden ; those of Switz alleging for themselves the national peace (which was formed a little after those of Zurich had been worsted, anno 1531), our deputies presently called for the records. When the whole instrument had been distinctly read, burgomaster Waser made a large declaration, demonstrating that the popish cantons had never observed the principal articles of the peace, but, on the contrary, had since made alliances against us, making more account of those later covenants than of their ancient general treaties ; that this deserved no better name than a mere conjuration and sworn conspiracy against us, which we must no longer endure.

Divers of the other popish deputies pretend to approve what Zurich demands, and to endeavour to break the obstinacy of Switz. Zurich abides by their first proposal, and requires the other cantons to see justice, and to concur with them against Switz. In the meantime we continue our preparations for the field. As Switz hath begun to fortify their passages towards the bridge of Rapperswill, so Zurich works day and night upon their frontiers, fortifying Wadenswill towards Switz, and Cappel towards Zug. We have three hundred soldiers in Cappel.

The deputies of the city of San-Gall, and of the protestant part of Appenzell, have spoken so high to the abbot of San-Gall, that he hath taken away his barricades that stopped their way, and hath diminished his guards. The said part of Appenzell hath signified to ours that they have five thousand fighting men ready to go to whatsoever quarter we will appoint. Turgow and Rhintal have declared themselves neutral ; their pre-fects, being at this time papists, have drawn them to this resolution. The abbots and monks thereabouts continue to transport their best moveables into Suevia and other parts. We are not

without hopes to bring down the high stomachs of Switz. The people begin to see themselves, as it were, shut up within their mountains; traffic ceasing, and victuals failing them, they will change their mind.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, Dec. 5.

From Zurich, November 28.—Last week it was thought we should have come to an accommodation, but now we see no such hope; our deputies wrote hither that the Switenses continued in their rash resolution, whereupon our council of two hundred assembled, and commanded their deputies to treat no longer with them, but to dissolve the assembly of Baden, and come home. It seems, the sword must determine these questions; at least, we shall take the field and try if that be a more lucky place to treat in than within town-walls; if not, we shall publish a manifesto, and use no more delay. To-morrow morning the great council of two hundred are to meet, to hear their deputies, and deliberate what is next to be done.

The same day and place; another hand. Our deputies are returned without hope of obtaining anything by treaty. Here is a youth just now apprehended and led to examination, who was discovered by a maid as he was going to set fire to our hospital; he had gunpowder, pitch, and matches, about him. It is said that he hath named some popish priests that sent him.

From Zurich, November 29.—The pope hath displeased the court of France by encouraging the French clergy to affront and trouble the king. It is said also, that he is an enemy to the memory of Henry IV. and to all his kindred; he hath also disobliged France by giving Spain the preeminence in his motions for a peace between them, and in several other occasions expressing more respect to Spain than to France.

The pope's courtiers cry out against France for making peace with England, and not breaking with Sweden; but

others in Rome say, that if the Swedes had not spared the papists for France's sake, all Italy would not have been able to feed so many priests, friars, and nuns, as must have run thither out of Germany, &c.

It is said for certain that the pope's nuncio at Lucern encourageth the popish cantons to continue in their stiffness, not yielding at all to any demand of the protestants, but to endeavour to spin out the treaty till spring: he assures them that the pope will not leave them, remembering their title—defenders of Saint Peter's chair.

We know that the popish deputies sent an express from Baden with letters to Milan, and that he had conference with the governor, who, some say, advised them to yield to some accommodation for the present, which they might revoke the next spring, as soon as they had received assistance from their neighbours.

We have also discovered that Cazati (the Spanish ambassador among the Grisons) hath close correspondence with Zallinger and Tsweyer (leading men), of Lucern and Uri. The town of San-Gall maintains two companies of foot and one of horse for their own defence. The protestants of Appenzell make also great preparations because the abbot of San-Gall hath not removed all his barricades; his poor subjects were wont to be continually employed by the merchants of San-Gall; now they want employment, and are eaten up by their abbot's guards, so that they say they are undone by the war before it is begun.

The lower sort of people in the popish cantons find a stop in their trade of silk and wool, and fear that they shall have neither bread nor salt if they fall out with Zurich, where they were always wont to buy both.

When our deputies dissolved the assembly at Baden, the deputies of the other cantons prayed them to promise to meet again in fifteen days, which, at the last, they consented to; but when they further prayed them that our guards might be removed from the avenues and passages, and that our fortifications at Cappel and elsewhere might be discontinued, ours gave them a flat denial, and came home.

Our council of two hundred met this morning; it is now two

of the clock ; they are not yet risen. Nobody will be able to write their resolutions by this post.

Sir, this week there came no letters from you to your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 6th December, 1655.

SIR,—Mr. Morland's letter to me of the 20th of the last month, old style, makes mention of a joint letter from you both which should have come by the same post, but there is no such come to my hands, nor have I received any particular letter from yourself, nor aught else save the ordinary coverts, by means whereof we are wholly in the dark as to the state of the affairs in Switzerland, and therefore no resolution can be taken by any one in that matter. If we shall understand by the next that the differences between the protestant and popish cantons do proceed, and that the scene of affairs, at least in reference to the protestant cause in those parts, is like to be there, I believe you will receive orders for continuing your settled residence at Zurich, and therefore I pray you do your uttermost to finish the business of the distribution. Mr. Calandrine has 500*l.* more in his hands than the last orders of his highness and council to you did mention, and therefore, you are to call to him for it, he having orders

to pay it. As to what concerns the business of Savoy I writ to you at large by my last. I need not add anything thereunto by this, but

Rest your assured friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

You are to distribute the above-mentioned 500*l*. according as you were directed to distribute the former sum.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, December 11.

SIR,—In my last I told you that the council of two hundred were met at Zurich, but not risen when the post came thence. They now write that the resolution then taken was, to continue their fortifications and preparations for war, but not to go into the field before they had sent to Berne; whereupon they named their burgomaster, their general, and their chief secretary of state, to go to Berne, and there, before the great council of two hundred, to represent how much it concerns Berne to engage in this quarrel, though they be none of the joint lords of Turgow, as Zurich is. There was also some speech of writing again to me from the senate of Zurich, and a motion made to send their second secretary of state to Geneva, not only to call upon that council for assistance, but also to speak with the English and Dutch commissioners

now there. This day seven-night, that is, Dec. 18th, old style, the deputies of all the cantons are to meet again at Baden, where they believe the French ambassador will by all means possible endeavour to prevent this civil war. And it is not doubted but that some of the popish cantons are of the same mind.

Our post useth to go hence on Wednesdays about noon, but now I am told that he must have my letters this Tuesday night, because of the solemnity observed here all day to-morrow. Two sermons in every church, with commemoration of their deliverance, three and fifty years ago, from the attempt of the Duke of Savoy to enter the town by ladders in the night, under the command of Albigni, father to the Marquis of Pianessa, who is now so famous for his zeal against the poor Waldenses in Piedmont. But as the said Albigni was at length beheaded at Turin for discovering the duke's counsels to the Spaniards, so his son may in time be thought too much addicted to Spain, &c. In the meantime, some take occasion to read over those pieces of story that concern the father, which must be my excuse at this time for stuffing my letter with this Latin relation of the said escalade. The French relation I have not yet seen.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

J. P.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

December 19th.

SIR,—My last made mention of the solemnity of the next day. After the first sermon, I told one of their chiefest senators that I thought it would not be unseasonable to go see the place where the Savoyards came in. He called another senator, overseer of their arsenal; with these two I viewed the place; and whilst others that looked upon us, knew not that we did anything else but discourse of that escalade, they shewed me how ill-fortified they are on that side of the town. Afterwards they led me into their arsenal, telling me that he might be deceived that estimated their provisions of arms by that public repository; for, said they, our citizens have arms in their houses for themselves, and some have enough to arm two hundred men, nay, some can arm three hundred. They also said that their granary was well stored with corn, and that they had been as good husbands of the public revenues as they could, their dangers being great, and their revenues small. But they had begun to change their old fortifications, and to make them after the newest manner; and so in the arsenal they shewed me their town in picture, and how much they had lately done; but on the side where the Savoyards entered, there remained four or five bulwarks to be made, which, if they were finished,

would require no more men to guard them than those ill-placed and almost useless watch-houses which now they have ; but it would require more cost than their purses could reach to in a long time. In a word, it all tended to this : that they hoped my Lord Protector would be a seasonable and magnificent benefactor, and send them some supplies towards the completing of their works ; that so they might become better able to keep their enemies out, till their friends might come to raise a siege and relieve them. His highness, by his great care of the Waldenses, hath filled many men with hopes to receive considerable supplies out of England.

Some of my former letters, a good while since, expressed the want of money in the protestant cantons. My last week's letter, dated Dec. 11th, told you that a secretary of state was coming from Zurich hither. He came two days after, accompanied with a senator of Berne. The next day, towards evening, they came to my lodging, and made a speech to me in High Dutch, and delivered a Latin paper to me. The paper I have Englished, and sent herewith. I know not whether I shall now have time to adjoin the sum of their speech. We discoursed in Latin, but I did not stay them long, because he of Berne was a mere stranger to me, and I perceived that they intended to go from me to Mr. Morland's lodgings, and afterwards to M. H. Van Ommeren that evening, to whom they must speak

more largely than to me, because I better knew the constitution of their country, and their present condition. The next morning, Dec. 15th, they also delivered a message to the senate of Geneva. Other business they had none that I hear of, save that they brought a bill of exchange for more money to be sent into Piedmont. The same day, your long letter of Nov. 29th came to my hands. I know not what had stayed it so that it came four days after the usual post-day by some extraordinary way, but it came very seasonably for the Helvetian deputies. I read it to the foresaid secretary, and gave him extracts of all the principal passages of it in writing. In discourse with him alone, he told me that he was bidden by some of the oldest senators to deal very openly with me. He said, therefore, that they did not look upon these beginnings in Helvetia as a flame that would burn out there, but would reach those that are far off; that they made no other reckoning, but that Savoy and his brother-in-law the Duke of Bavaria, would speedily be meddling and assisting the popish cantons, and not long after many others would follow. They did therefore suppose, that when they had once drawn their swords they should not be persuaded to put them up till the city of Rome were down. They saw that if they had a mind to fight, they should never want just cause of quarrelling with all their popish neighbours; because they expected

to have them all putting their fingers in this fire. All the difficulty was, in having a sufficient sum of money to hire soldiers, because they expected huge numbers to come in upon them from the popish princes. And, said he, if we take all our men from the plough and the vineyards, we shall be forced to seek money to buy bread and drink of strangers, whilst our own land lies idle. We had rather spare some of our own men for husbandry, though we borrow money to hire strangers for part of the war. I did not ask him whence they would have these hired soldiers, because I have heretofore heard whence they can have German horse ; and for foot, they can have innumerable able-bodied men out of the Rhetian Alps, stout Grison Highlanders, who, if they could find service in any protestant army, would not serve the King of Spain in Milan or Naples, where they are not permitted any exercise of their religion, but live many years in those countries, till many of them become papists or mere atheists.

I must here break off, because the post says he must be gone sooner than ordinary, the rain having swelled the rivers, and carried away bridges, so that he was almost drowned yesterday, and intends to-day to go further about to escape the like danger, if it be possible.

I am, Sir, your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

[By our express.]

Geneva, December, 20-30.

SIR,—In hope that my letter of Dec. 19th will come safely to your hand, I will not repeat what I wrote there, but now begin where I was then constrained to break off. After the said secretary had spoken of hiring *strangers* for their army, I asked him in what forwardness *themselves* were for the war? “We have,” said he, “ready to march, tomorrow, if need be, about fifteen thousand foot, well armed, and I know not justly how many horse, above twelve hundred. Bern hath also ready about as many, or more; for they have for this occasion raised eighty companies under six colonels. Each company consists of two hundred foot, and the free companies of three hundred a-piece. We call those free companies that are composed of men out of several quarters, according as they fancy this or that captain; the other companies consist all of neighbours,” (like the trained bands in England.) “How much this army will increase by the forces from the other protestant cantons and their allies is uncertain.”

I told him, that many men were of opinion that the Helvetians could not fight with one another, and that they did but look big upon one another; but they would become friends, and drown all their

anger in good wine. He answered, that might happen, if the evangelical cantons were not so high in their demands, and the popish cantons too stiff to stoop to reason. "For," said he, "who can hope that they will consent to grant us reparation for their insolences towards us, and for the innocent blood spilt by them? Ours demand *reparation*, blood for blood; they demand the chief actors in Switz to be delivered to them, or executed at home as ringleaders in this persecution, introducers of the inquisition, and principal causes of these present troubles, and of all the mischief that may follow." I asked him what he meant by the treaties which he mentioned in his speech to me, saying, "They desired that my Lord Protector would powerfully interpose, if they came to treaties." He answered, "We foresee that some of the popish princes and states may perhaps offer to send ambassadors to compose our quarrels. If this cannot be avoided, we should be glad to have some public ministers from such princes and states as we may trust; for the French ambassador we shall always count partial, and therefore we desire that my Lord Protector would be helpful to us in that way at such a time."

I asked him what kind of pecuniary assistance they desired of his highness? He answered, money lent or deposited to be faithfully restored as fast as they should become able to repay it. I asked in what

manner this might be done ? He said, it might be lent to the whole Corpus Evangelicum Helvetiæ, but delivered to Zurich, who was to make agreement with their several cantons and allies for the sharing it among them. I asked, what moved them to desire that one of us should post into England, or, at the least, that we should send an express thither ? He answered, speed. I replied, “ A letter from hence to London by the ordinary post is but twelve days upon the way, and it is but little that any express can now gain upon the post, hardly anything at all between this and Lyons at any time of the year, nor much in the rest of the journey, considering the time of the year, and the badness of ways. Nor can I see how an express can bring you an answer in less than thirty days ; for,” said I, “ when we write a letter here, and send it by the ordinary post to London, he ordinarily brings us an answer twenty-seven days after. This answer, by posts that travel night and day, may be sent from Geneva to Zurich in three days ; this makes thirty days by the post. An express may gain some few days upon the post between Lyons and Calais, but then the contents of these letters are of such importance that an answer cannot be expected presently. How much deliberation will be thought necessary at London I cannot tell. If your own resolutions depend upon the return of an answer out of England, so that till then ye will not proceed

to action, your enemies perhaps may, in the interim, gain more by this delay than you—*nocuit differre paratis*. Ye are now ready; they are not so. If ye let slip that advantage now, ye may be long before ye find the like again. I say this, because I should be sorry to hear that ye had let slip any opportunity in expectation of letters out of England.”

“But,” said he, “letters sent by the ordinary may miscarry.” “And,” said I, “so they may, if sent by an express, who, besides all other casualties, may be waylaid by some that would see what he carries. I say not this, as if we would not send an express because of sparing the money, but I would not have greater matters expected from an express than it is possible for him to perform. Howsoever, neither of us dares to return into England without order; and I think neither of us is such a rank rider in winter as to get to Calais much sooner than the ordinary posts; and therefore I hope you will excuse us if we tarry here, and take some other course to make your desires known to his highness.”

So that I did never promise him that we would send an express, neither in discourse nor in our written answer, of which Mr. Morland saith he hath sent you a copy, both in English, as I first dictated it, and in French, a little altered, as we delivered it to those two Helvetian deputies at their lodging, December 18th, afternoon, as soon as we were as-

sured that the post of Lyons was come, but had brought us no English letters, so that we could give them no further account concerning the resolutions of his highness, &c. They then told us, that they had heard for certain that the court of Savoy had a hand in stirring up the popish cantons to give a cause of war, as having been full of jealousies ever since the assembly at Payerne. They had also heard that Zurich and Berne had protested that they would send no deputies to Baden till the popish cantons recalled their soldiers out of Meltingen, and one or two towns more, belonging to the protestant cantons as well as to the popish.

We there bade them farewell. But that evening they visited us, all three severally, to take their leaves, &c. The next day they left Geneva, and returned homeward, but, as we heard, not the nearest way, not daring to ride through the popish cantons. Before they went, they sent us a French translation of that proposition, which they had penned in High Dutch, to be spoken to us. Mr. Morland undertook to see it Englished, whilst I was otherwise employed. Perhaps he will, for haste, seal up that English translation, and send it to you, without shewing it to me.

I gave the said secretary the Latin copy of the declaration against Spain which you were pleased to send to

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

20th December, 1655.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 4th instant, with the enclosed news from Switzerland, which gives no new occasion of writing to you upon that subject; nor have I anything to add by this concerning the affairs of Savoy and the poor people there, having written at large unto you by my former letters, which I hope are come to your hands long before this, although I perceive they were not at the writing of your last, which I much wonder at, in respect, by computation of time, they ought to have been with you before that. Your letters by this post are not yet arrived; we are in expectation of them, and until they come to hand we are not willing to give you any instructions concerning your returning to your residence at Zurich. The printed Courant contains all the news that we have here at this time, and therefore I shall add nothing further, but the assurance of my being

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, December 26th, 1655.

SIR,—The last week I wrote to you twice: the former was dated December 19th, and sent by the

post, the latter was dated December 20th, and sent by an express. In that former, having said somewhat concerning Geneva, I began to tell you of the Helvetian deputies that came hither, and of the private discourse that I had with one of them, a secretary of Zurich. With that letter I sent their relation of what had been done at Baden. In the latter, I continued the secretary's discourse, and adjoined, in English, the sum of the High-Dutch speech that they made to me December 14th.

December 22nd, I received a letter from the senate of Zurich, which I send herewith in English. Other letters came with it, no less earnestly expressing their desire to be included in the English-French treaty than to be supplied speedily with a considerable sum of money. The same post brought a letter from the same senate to the senate of Geneva, of which I got a French translation, and delivered it to Mr. Morland, to English and send you by this post. M. H. Van Ommeren had a letter from the same senate, altogether like mine. The same day, instead of an answer to Zurich, I wrote to their secretary that had been here, telling him that I had received the letter from his city, and would have a care of it. I also told him that we had sent an express towards England, as he had desired. We have since also spoken again with M. H. Van Ommeren, concerning the articles of the treaty of Pignerol. By several discourses with him, I per-

ceive that his principals did believe that the whole business might be done by sending somebody to speak big at Turin; and therefore they had never consulted what to do, if the duke refused to grant such things as they demanded.

Yours, dated December 6th, I received yesterday, which was a whole week later than usual. I know not why our letters come so untowardly to your hands. I have written to you weekly ever since I returned hither from Payerne,—namely, October 10, 17, 24, 31; November 7, 14, 21, 28; December 5, 11, 19, 20, and now, December 26.

Of the money you may expect an account the next week, from M. M. and me.

Your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 27th December, 1655.

SIR,—Yours of the 11th instant gives an account of the state of affairs in Switzerland, and of the continuance of the difference between Zurich and Switz, which (as we understand them by your representation) are such as no certain judgment can be given upon them, it being very doubtful what resolution Berne will take in this occasion, who, it seems, have not yet declared themselves; besides, we observe in yours that a reconciliation is hoped for from the

meeting of all the cantons at Baden. I thank you for the printed paper* I received from you, which I was very glad to see. This winter season puts an end to all action here, and in all other parts of the world, save in Prussia, where the King of Sweden goes on with great success, the particulars whereof I will not trouble you with, supposing you are acquainted with them.

I fear none of my letters for some weeks past are come to your hands, because I find no mention of them in yours. I assure you I wrote constantly (two posts excepted), and will hope that they will yet come to your hands, having very little time to write duplicates. I have nothing to trouble you with further at this time, but rest

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. J. H. HUMMEL TO MR. PELL.

28th December, 1655.

SIR,—Yours dated the 11th December at Geneva, did I receive at Berne the 15th October, with an adjoined paper to direct me to a gentleman in this town, Burckart ab Erlach, to receive of him *quatuordecim duplones Gallicos; Domino Gerbero tantum dedi*

* In Latin, of the escalade of Geneva.

duodecim, et ni fallor non plures ab Illustrissimo D. Legato repetii in literis meis ad ipsum. That gentleman was very willing to give me that sum, and I have given him an acquittance for it too ; I stay to expect command, that I may know what I shall do with the rest,—namely, with the two doubloons which I yet have in my power. After that, when M. Bucher with Holtzhalb is come to us, his man brought me that desired and expected Commentary of D. William Gouge, with your name, Sir, upon the packets, but no letter else, and therefore do I not know the price of it, and what I do owe your worship for it. I pray, Sir, let me know it in your next, and you shall receive thankful satisfaction for your great pains which you took for your servant's sake. That same declaration which you did send unto me concerning the justice of cause of war between England and Spain, I did, according to your prescription, send faithfully to Mr. Auckins, at Zurich.

M. Bucher did relate the poor estate of the miserable Waldenses ; the Lord in heaven be prayed for them. I pray you too, Sir, to urge their cause with all might, and I do hope you do it truly. I will do for them what I can. News we have very much. We have now open wars with the papistical cantons : the Lord in heaven bless our warfare to his own glory, and propagation of his gospel. Our people, I think, shall, this night or the morning, take

their march, but I know not in what place. I pray, Sir, recommend our present business to your Highness Lord Protector, and give notice of our present state. So soon as we receive tidings of their proceedings will I, if possible, write unto you of the same ; and so I leave you, Sir, and thank you heartily for your great love and care, and remain your indeed faithful and dutiful servant,

JOHN HENRY HUMMEL.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 3rd Jan., 1655.

SIR,—I received yours by the express, with the narrative of the controversy between Switz and Zurich, or rather, the protestant and popish cantons ; and by Mr. Morland's packet, the English translation of the proposition made to you by the deputies of Zurich and Berne, with your joint answer thereto. These came to my hand yesterday ; at the same time came to my hands your letter of the 20th, the former being of the 19th of the last month. I have communicated these papers, with some others I received, as well from yourself as Mr. Morland, to his highness and the council ; and the bare reading of them hath taken up the most part of this day, so that there hath been no time for consideration of the matter therein con-

tained, which is of great consequence, but they will be re-assumed again to morrow. What the resolution shall be thereupon shall be sent to you with all speed, which is all I can say to you upon this subject or upon aught else, there being no news at all here. I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant, J. T.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, Jan. 9-19, 1655-6.

SIR,—We have received no letters from you this week or the last : as for this week, we conceive the Paris post came into Lyons after our post was gone towards Geneva, for they say, there are no Paris letters come hither this week ; so that we hope the next post will bring us your letters of two weeks.

January the fifth, Geneva sent three hundred foot to augment the Zurich army ; January the sixth, I received these enclosed for his highness. In their letter to M. M. and me, the senate of Zurich thanks us for the answer that we gave their secretary in writing (whereof Mr. Morland says he sent you a copy), in the conclusion whereof we had prayed them to let us know their sense of the condition of the poor Waldenses. To which they answer, that as soon as their troubles are over they will not fail to resume their care of the Wal-

denses, and to further any consultations concerning the means necessary to their support and safety.

The next day, Jan. 7th, M. Morland and I went to M. H. Van Ommeren, to discourse concerning the Helvetian and Piedmontian affairs ; he had received the like letters for himself and his superiors. He seemed resolved to write home that he might be recalled, accounting it unfit to stay any longer here, if the Helvetians would not meddle any further in the affairs of Piedmont till their own troubles were over. Some say, that he thinks long to be at home with a fair mistress, whom he had married before this time if this journey had not been interposed. Besides, his father, burgomaster of Arnhem, dying a little before he came out, so that he wears mourning, it is not unlikely that some domestical affairs may make him wish himself at home. As for the Helvetians, he said they must not look for any assistance from his principals, who would have their hands full of business in aiding Brandenburg against the Swedes. And yet he thinks not the like excuse sufficient for the Helvetians, when they say, “ We are not fit to protect others further off till we can protect our own people from the insolence and cruelty of our next neighbours and allies.”

Yesterday, the ordinary Zurich carrier brought us letters of two weeks, dated Decem. 27, and Jan. 3. They signify that part of Zurich army, under the

command of Lieutenant-general Ulrich, hath subdued all Turgow, and made them all swear obedience to Zurich alone. They have sent prisoners to Zurich, the governor, his secretary, and sergeants, being all of the canton of Switz, whose turn it was to govern Turgow. Another part of Zurich army, commanded by Major-General Werdmüller, had taken Keysers-stul, and Zursach, and hoped quickly to subdue the parts thereabouts. But the town of Baden seemed resolved to make strong resistance, fortifying themselves, having already pulled down the capuchin's cloister, a large, fair, new building, and also their hospital, the fairest in all Switzerland. But they doubted that the sparing of those two buildings might cause the speedy loss of their town when it came to be besieged. The general himself had besieged Rapperswill, and intended not to leave it till he had taken it. Of Berne they had no news, save a report that their first task was to besiege Lucern. But you expect certain intelligence, and not uncertain reports from

Your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, January 16th.

SIR,—Yours dated December 20th and 27th, I received three days ago, and one of January 3rd

came to my hands yesterday ; which last assured me that ours of December 19th and 20th, with our express, are come to you in due time. I shall be glad to know the resolutions concerning the cantons, &c. I hope you have before this time received mine of December 26th, with my translation of a letter written December 18th, from the senate of Zurich to me. In that which I wrote last week, I enclosed a letter from the evangelical cantons to his highness, and a copy of one from the senate of Zurich to me and to Mr. Morland ; also the Helvetic grievances in English, and the manifesto of the said cantons in High-Dutch. In which manifesto no mention is made of Friburg and Soloturn, so that they may account themselves unconcerned if they abstain from assisting the other popish cantons. This sets them upon thoughts of accommodation of the whole business, and they endeavour to keep Basil and Schaffhausen in the same mind. It is believed that both sides have so little money that the war cannot last long without the supplies of other princes, of which there is great noise. The petty cantons boast that Savoy alone hath offered to send them a hundred thousand crowns. I hear that some of the subjects of Berne, to outboast them, replied, “ England alone hath promised to lend us two millions of livres ;” which, when it was told me (I think to try what I would say), I only

answered, that England had not yet made any such promise by me, nor by any other that I knew of.

January the 12th, in the morning, I received the letter which I here send you in English. I conceive that, in the subscription, they have added "the citizens of Berne," that it may appear that the borrowing of money and the obligations to repay it are not offered without the consent of the commonalty. I wrote back to them that we had received their letter, and should have a care of the business recommended in it.

We do not yet hear that the army of Berne hath besieged Lucern or Mellingen, as they promised to do, but they may be excused, if they first make sure all their limits. Wagner, the governor of their southern parts, hath enough to do to look to the Valesians, who are said to be ready to enter into his government by the east end of the lake, or to cross it in barks and frigates by the favour and assistance of the Marquis of Lullin, governor of Chablais, in Savoy. Geneva hath increased the number of their scouts and guards, because they have heard of the great preparations that Savoy makes.

Here is a rumour that Wagner hath intercepted a letter written from the French ambassador to the said Marquis of Lullin, telling him it is time to throw away his vizard, and declare himself, &c.

And it is somewhat more confidently affirmed, that a marriage is contriving between the French king and the Duke of Savoy's sister ; which the pope also approves, and would have that duke marry the heir of Spain ; which two marriages would, as he conceives, well help forward the peace between the two crowns.

As for the French ambassador at Soloturn, it is very well known that when the Boors rebelled, he was very glad of it, hoping that thereby the protestant cantons might be necessitated to submit to any conditions that France should please to propose. And time will shew whether he has not now encouraged the popish cantons to give these occasions of new troubles, that so France may have a fair pretence to assist them, as having renewed their league ; and to do nothing for the protestant cantons, because they have hitherto refused to renew a league with him. They would be glad to have assurance that France would do them no harm, and to that end, I believe, desire so much to be included in the Anglo-Gallic treaty.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

J. P.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL AND
MR. MORLAND.

Whitehall, 17th January, 1655.

GENTLEMEN,—I believe you looked for the return of your messenger before now, or, at least, to have received an answer to the letters and papers you sent by him, touching the differences between the protestant and popish cantons, as they were represented to you by the two deputies of Zurich and Berne. The reason why you have not is, because it was observed by the papers which were delivered by the aforesaid deputies, that there was a meeting of all the cantons then to be at Baden, where an accommodation would be endeavoured, the issue whereof his highness and council did think it necessary for them to see, before they could take any certain resolution upon those affairs. As I had writ thus far, I received your letters of the 2nd of January, being near eight of the clock at night, with the papers enclosed ; whereby we see that the assembly of Baden have brought forth no agreement, but, on the contrary, a war is begun between them. All that could be done this night was to read the letters and papers, and appoint the morning for the consideration of what concerns both Switzerland and Piedmont, which certainly have a great relation one to the other. What the resolution shall be you shall receive by the express with all possible speed.

In the meantime, I do observe upon this, as upon several other occasions, his highness's sincere affection to the protestant cantons, and zeal for the cause they are now engaged in ; and it is not to be doubted but that his highness will give real demonstrations thereof at this time of their necessity, even in the thing desired by themselves, so far as the present condition of this state will admit ; and of this you may in general terms assure those concerned, as you have opportunity, promising them a more particular answer to their propositions with their first, now that his highness is fully acquainted with the true state of their affairs.

As for what concerns Geneva, you shall also by the express have instructions what answer to give to them upon their desire, whose welfare and prosperity his highness doth not only wish with all his heart, but will be ready to contribute to it as far as God shall enable him.

I hear, and believe it to be true, that M. Ommeren* is ordered by the states-general to remain at Geneva. I desire you to communicate with him in these affairs, that you understand from him what counsels the states-general will take in these occasions.

I wonder to find by yours that you had no letter

* H. Van Ommeren was the commissioner extraordinary from the states of Holland for the affairs of Piedmont.

from me by the post, before the date of yours. I assure you I wrote ; and if my letters are not since come, they are miscarried. I have now made use of the direction received from Mr. Morland, by means whereof I hope my despatches will come more certainly.

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

January, 1655.

SIR,—My last letter to you was of the 17th inst., since which I have received yours of January 3d, with the other papers as well sent by you ; as Mr. Morland's has been communicated to his highness and council, and it appearing by these the war goes on between the protestant and popish cantons, they came to a more close consideration of the propositions which have been made to his highness, first, by the deputies of Zurich and Berne to you and Mr. Morland, in the name of their superiors ; and other by letter from all the protestant cantons for some pecuniary assistance. Upon the first paper sent by you, whereby the matters in difference were stated, his highness was pleased to call together several gentlemen, and ministers of great esteem in the nation, for their honesty, piety, and love to the protes-

tant cause, and who had been intrusted with the management of the collection for the poor Waldenses, and communicated to them the aforesaid papers, as he also hath the intelligences which you have sent since that time in reference to that business, which was done for several reasons, as that the whole nation might by their means have a right measure and understanding of the present war in Switzerland, and of the malicious and useless designs and endeavours of the popish party against those of the contrary profession, and be thereby prepared to a liberal contribution, in case God in His providence should bring things into that condition and state as that their brethren in Switzerland should stand in need thereof; and in the meantime might by prayer, as well public as private, commend them and their affairs, with the cause of Christ in general, unto God. Secondly, to consider and advise with them what was the duty of the nation, and of the chief magistrate in particular, at such a time as this; and, thirdly, the persons aforesaid were pitched upon in respect of the relation this case hath unto that of the Waldenses in the valley of Piedmont; it being judged here that this war in Switzerland, and the late massacre in the valleys, comes from one and the same fountain, and that if the cantons miscarry in this, those poor Waldenses will not long survive them.

His highness and some of the council have had

several meetings with the aforesaid gentlemen and ministers upon this subject, where things have been largely debated ; and, upon the whole, his highness is resolved, by the advice aforesaid, to lend unto the cantons of Zurich and Berne, upon security for the repayment thereof, the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, for their help and assistance in this war, stirred up and made upon them by their popish neighbours, to be paid unto them by £5000 a month, and this you shall communicate to the said cantons, letting them withal know the affectionate sense that his highness and the good people of this nation have of their present condition ; and that he shall be ready to give them his best assistance and help, either by counsel or otherwise, as God shall give him opportunity and means ; and in case of any treaties or interpositions by foreign states, (whereof mention is made in the aforesaid propositions, delivered to you by the deputies of the said two cantons,) his highness shall willingly give unto you such powers and authority in that case as shall be judged expedient. And to the end that there may be no delay in this case, and that you may the better understand the true state of affairs from time to time, his highness's pleasure is, that you forthwith return back to your residence at Zurich, or to such other place in the power of the protestant cantons as you shall judge most fit to transact those things in ; unless

you should judge your return at this time to be dangerous and unsafe for you; in which case you may stay at Geneva, and communicate those things by the best means you may from thence.

You shall also desire to know what security the two cantons of Zurich and Berne will give for the repayment of this money, and at what days, which his highness must be satisfied in before the money be actually paid into their hands. But yet, in the meantime, the first £5000 shall be remitted to Geneva with all the speed possible, that it may come seasonably to them for their supply. It will be necessary that you also make some agreement with them as to the manner of returns, the place and persons where and to whom it must be paid, as also concerning the charge, hazard, &c. of returning it, with what else relates thereto. And during your stay at Geneva, you are to advise with Mr. Morland in what you shall do in execution of these instructions. When you go from Geneva, I desire you to settle a way for correspondence between us by Geneva, which will, as I am informed, be the safest and speediest way.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, Jan. 23.

SIR,—In my last week's letter, I enclosed an English translation of the letter from Berne to Mr.

Morland and me ; and a printed French translation of the protestant cantons' manifesto. It is not so well translated as it might have been, but I do not yet hear that it hath been published in French by those of Berne ; though it might seem necessary, because they have so many subjects that understand no other language. Here was much talk of the defeat given to the army of Berne by an ambushment of those of Lucerne ; yet I hear no man say, that the number of men lost on either side was above three hundred ; others say, that one hundred and sixty of the Bernois were slain, and about sixty wounded. But their southern men ran away, so that the Lucernois took six field-pieces, and some baggage. It is hoped that this loss will awaken the courage of the Bernenses, and make them go about their work in good earnest ; it is said, they have an army of twenty thousand men. The army of Zurich is about fifteen thousand, but some of them are already in garrisons in Turgow and the country of Baden. The rest are with the general at the siege of Rapperswill, where the frost had made it very difficult to use the spade for approaches. January 18th was designed for the first use of several batteries newly finished. Schaffhausen hath sent about a thousand men to Zurich, but they refuse to serve offensively, saying, they come only for their defence ; so that Zurich must divide them among their garrisons.

We hear for certain that Prince Thomaso is dead, and one of his sons ; some say it is his eldest, who could make a shift to speak so as that men might guess what he said. Others say it is one of the other two sons, who were wholly dumb, being born deaf. The Duke of Savoy hath yet one uncle alive, about sixty-six years old, who married his niece, one of the duke's sisters, but hath no children. Nor hath the duke any brother ; so that the house of Savoy is likely to decay.

If God himself will avenge the innocent blood spilt by that house, we must not wonder that he crosses the counsels, and hinders the endeavours, of those men that would be employed to that end.

Sir, this week there came no letter from you to your humble servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, Jan. 23, at night.

SIR,—To-day, before noon, I wrote to you and sent it to Mr. Morland to convey to you by the post of Lyons. This evening, an express brought letters, dated Jan. 18th, from the consul and senate of Zurich to me and to Mr. Morland, praying us to convey this enclosed to his highness, and to lend them some money if we can spare any. In their letter was enclosed a piece of a letter from the Vene-

tian resident at Milan to the Venetian resident at Zurich, who communicated it to those of Zurich. I have Englished it and sent it herewith.

With those letters from the consul, &c., came another of the same date to me, from the secretary of Zurich, that was here in December. He also prays me to lend them some money, and for news, adds, that they have begun to batter Rapperswill, so that they hope to get it in short time.

As for their letter, we have resolved to send it by an express to-morrow morning as soon as the gates are opened ; not doubting but that he will get to Lyons before the letters be sent from thence towards Paris ; so that you may receive these at the same time with those that we sent hence to-day.

But for money, I am not in case to lend them any ; unless Mr. Secretary take order with the treasurer at court, I must rather think of borrowing. I perceive by my wife's last letters that she had received no money thence since August last, and that was for the quarter expiring with June. So that two quarter days (Septem. and Decem.) are past since she received any for herself or me.

Your humble and faithful servant,

J. P.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

24th January, 1655.

SIR,—It is expected that your journeys to and fro will occasion an extraordinary expense ; and if you please to give me some light into it, I shall take care that you be answered a further sum of money than your ordinary appointment.

The French king intends to send an extraordinary embassy to the cantons to reconcile them. You will do very well to understand the minds of the protestants therein, and what would be desired by them from their protestant friends and allies in such a case.

Since the writing of my letter to Mr. Morland, we hear for certain that the Swede and Elector of Brandenburg are agreed, which is of great advantage to the protestant interest. I pray leave a cypher with Mr. Morland before you go, that he may send a copy of it to me.

Your servant,

J. T.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, Jan. 30.

SIR,—The last week, I wrote twice to you, because, after the post was gone, I received a letter for his highness, which we sent away the next

morning. We hope it came soon enough to Lyons to be sent to Paris with the former.

Yesterday, we received a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated Jan. 17, written to Mr. M. and me jointly; the Zurich postilion being then here, I wrote by him, and gave notice of some of the expressions in the said letter.

Their affairs are in an uncertain posture. The army of Berne hath not yet attempted anything worth speaking of. Zurich army lies still before Rapperswill, and hopes to get it shortly by mere force. The bridge that there crosseth the lake is 1700 paces long. The ice hath all this while kept their boats from breaking or burning it; but a week ago they finished a battery that flanks that bridge. At the first, they intended to spare the town as much as might be; but now, they say they are resolved to beat it down to the ground with their cannon rather than make a long siege of it. They have heard that the popish cantons have recalled their soldiers that served the King of Spain in Milan, and that they are returning home with money from the pope and the governor of Milan. Some cantons are busily contriving articles of agreement, which they hope to draw up in such a manner as both sides may be pleased.

Five regiments are come out of Piedmont into Chablais, whence, it is said, they intend to fall into the southern parts of the dominion of Berne, but

Wagner lies in their way. Geneva saith, those five regiments do not make above fifteen hundred men.

From Paris they write, that their king is sending the Duke of Rochefocault into Switzerland as ambassador-extraordinary, to offer his interposition, and to threaten that he will with considerable forces oppose that part which shall refuse to stand to his award. They write also, that the pope hath written to the clergy of France, blaming them for many things, and especially for not hindering the peace with England; which peace he would have speedily broken, because he accounts it an intolerable hindrance to his design for a peace between France and Spain.

In the end of my last letter, I wrote that my wife had received no money at court since August last. But, yesterday, I received a letter from her, acknowledging that she had newly received half her expectation; I hope ere long she may receive the remainder by Mr. Secretary's recommendation; whereby his honour may lay a further obligation upon your humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL AND
MR. MORLAND.

Whitehall, 31st January, 1655.

GENTLEMEN,—This is only to let you know of the receipt of yours of the 16th instant, with the

papers which you mention to have enclosed therein, which doth administer no occasion of adding any thing to the letter I wrote to Mr. Pell of the 24th instant, which went by the last post, a copy whereof is here enclosed.

We have this day received letters from Jamaica, which brings us the certainty of the safe arrival of Major Sedgewicke there with his squadron, and fresh supplies of men, but he had not been there long enough to make any great attempt. Vice-Admiral Goodson had been at sea with eight ships, and landed four or five hundred men upon a town of the Spaniards, on the Maine, called St. Martha, which had two strong forts, and a breastwork between them; after an hour's dispute, they mastered both forts and town, which consisted of about two hundred houses. After that, they marched into the country about ten miles and fired many houses, and at their return to the town, demolished the forts and burned the town, and so brought away the spoil and thirty pieces of cannon. The spoil was divided, one-half to the soldiery and the other half to the state. They are preparing for further action. This is all I have to communicate to you at this time, and rest,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL AND MR. MORLAND TO SECRETARY
THURLOE.

Geneva, 3-13 Feb., 1655-6.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, — Yesterday, we visited M. H. Van Ommeren, who had received from the protestant cantons such another letter as this enclosed. We found that his sense of the contents differed little from ours. He said, he had a while ago received commands from the Hague to do his utmost to forward all thoughts of peace among the cantons, and therefore without new letters he might return into Switzerland, and be present at their general assembly, which he said would be shortly called, because the French ambassador urged it. We told him, that we daily expected letters out of England with sufficient instructions; and till then, we knew not what to do or say further in this great business. But we conceived he might do to make all possible haste to Berne or Zurich. He replied, that he would gladly have the company of at least one of us, in expectation whereof he had resolved to stay a while longer at Geneva, at least till he had received from Zurich an answer to that letter which he intended to write forthwith, telling them, that if they thought his presence might be useful to them, he would come to them without delay, and that they might dispose of him and all that was in his power as themselves should think fit. He said, he knew the Savoy ambassador who is now in

Switzerland, he had seen him at Munster ; that he is a man of a very pleasing and winning carriage, but very subtle and cunning. But the French ambassador he had not seen, and could hardly believe that his king had sent him instructions to threaten the protestant cantons, who had been so lately included in the French-English treaty. We answered, that we had not yet received any assurance from England that the cantons were included. He said, he made no doubt of it, because of some passages in one of M. H. Newport's letters, that seemed to affirm it. But it concerns the Switzers to be very sure of it, before they make it a ground of some of their resolutions concerning war or peace. For though they were never so much set upon war, yet they may be frightened into thoughts of peace, if France will intermeddle, and be not taken off by England and the Low Countries.

And if they must hearken to a treaty of peace, it may be very disadvantageous to them, if the popish cantons have the counsel of the pope's nuncio at Lucerne, and of the Spanish ambassador at Chur, in Rhætia, besides the presence of the French and Savoy ambassadors to countenance that part ; whilst the protestant cantons have nobody to advise them or appear for them. And therefore, in their adjoined letter to us, they earnestly pray us to let them know what we can do for them in that way, to which we must to-morrow send some kind of

answer, which might be more full if we had received new instructions ; and therefore we should be glad to see the return of our express whom we daily expect, and remain, right honourable, your honour's most humble and faithful servants,

JOHN PELL.

S. M.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Feb. 6.

SIR,—Three days ago, we hastily sent away letters subscribed by us both, which we hope are come safely to you. Yesterday, I received letters from Mr. Secretary, dated Jan. 24th, which are so long that they require a longer answer than I have now time to write. Presently upon the receipt of them, I wrote to Zurich, signifying that I had order to return into Switzerland, and hoped to be there within a fortnight, &c.

I hear that the French ambassador hath drawn them to a truce of six days, which expires tomorrow. Some think he will be able to get the truce renewed for longer time. The Genevenses say, the protestant cantons will be forced to hearken to peace, because they have not money to continue the war. It is thought the popish princes have somewhat else to do with their money than to *give* it to the popish cantons, for surely nobody will *lend*

them any, knowing they will never repay it. The protestant cantons continue to signify their desire, that the public ministers of England and the Netherlands would return hence into Switzerland. M. H. Van Ommeren told us the last night, that their ambassador at Paris hath written that the Duke of Rochefocault is ready for his journey into Suisse, and that he hath instructions to join with the said H. Van Ommeren, both in pacifying the Switzers, and in reviewing the defects and faults of the treaty of Piedmont. Wherefore M. H. Van Ommeren intends to tarry at Geneva till he have received instructions from the Hague concerning those matters. Mr. Morland made himself believe that he discerned in him an expectation of some greater title than extraordinary commissioner. But I confess I did not mark any such thing in his speech. He said, he had received the copy of that letter which the states-general had written to the several provinces concerning money for the cantons ; and he promised to send it to me, because he knows that I understand the language, though we never discourse in it. He believes that M. H. Nieuport, the Dutch ambassador at London, hath full account of all from M. H. Boreel, at Paris ; and, therefore, none of these things can be unknown at Whitehall.

Mr. Secretary wills me to give him some light concerning the extraordinary expenses for my

journeys, which I am no way able to estimate. I found the three former very costly, but this will be much more so, the prices of all things being there incredibly raised since the war, all artisans being turned soldiers. I doubt I shall be taught also the price of guides and convoys ; and if I must appear among the public ministers at Baden, or elsewhere, it will be hard for me now to foretell how great my unavoidable expenses will then be, that I may not be the scorn of those that must give me place ; for though I may be content to see them all outshine me, I must not let them all go before me. I therefore submit all to his highness's pleasure, and remain, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 7th February, 1655.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 23rd of January, and am sorry to understand that those of Berne have received a baffle from the popish party ; and wish they be not mistaken who are of an opinion that this misfortune will turn to good, by stirring up the protestants to prosecute their business with more vigour and resolution. I hope you have before this received my letter of the 23rd of January, whereby you had his highness's resolutions upon the papers now sent concerning the affairs of



Switzerland, which will serve also for an answer to the letter written to H. H. from the protestant cantons, which came enclosed in your last ; so that there is nothing to be added to what was then written, save that we are returning five thousand pounds for that purpose expressed in my said letter of the 23rd, and are expecting what answer you will receive from the cantons upon the aforesaid resolutions of his highness.

I was wholly ignorant, until I received your letter, that your money was so ill paid as it is ; and if those who look after your affairs here had acquainted me with it, I should have taken care therein, as I shall for the future, as also to furnish you with a further allowance, that you may have just encouragement whilst you are employed in the public affairs.

I hear the King of France will send an extraordinary ambassador for reconciling the cantons, the truth whereof we shall know from our next letters from thence. In case that fall out, it will be necessary that you do inform yourself very fully of the resolutions and intentions of the protestant party as to a treaty, in respect that H. H. may send unto you timely instructions in what manner you should demean yourself on such an occasion. I suppose you know of the peace which is made between the King of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, and that the Elector's army, or a

great part thereof, will be joined with the Swede. We look upon this, here, as a very good advantage to the protestant cause, hoping that if the Swede can settle his affairs in those parts, he may be a great succour to the protestants, who are everywhere threatened with the popish party. It is true there is some jealousy between him and the Dutch, and some unkindnesses have passed between them, but my Lord Protector is resolved to use all possible endeavour to unite and reconcile them; and there is now a treaty between the Swedes' extraordinary ambassador and his honour's, which may have a tendency that way.

We have lately had letters from Jamaica; the truth of what they contain you will find in the enclosed print. I therefore shall add no more, but the assurance that I am

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Geneva, Feb. 13.

SIR,—The last week, we wrote to Mr. Secretary jointly, Feb. 3rd, and severally, Feb. 6th. Yesterday, we received a letter, dated Jan. 31st, from him to us both, with a copy of that which had been sent to me the week before, wherein I was commanded to return to my residence at Zurich, &c., unless I found it dangerous, &c. I hope I have

now sufficiently informed myself concerning the danger of that journey, and the ways to avoid it. There was a short truce, which I mentioned in my last week's letter. I was desirous to hear whether it were continued or no, before I came among them, knowing that such short truces end often in furious attempts; nor had I reason to expect any other of this, considering how much heat (and barbarous cruelty in some parts)* the papists had shewn the day before the truce began. The letters that I received out of Switzerland yesterday, dated Feb. 7th, give me no assurance that the truce is renewed; but they tell me of a meeting at Baden, where the ambassadors of France and Savoy are present, pretending no business but to reconcile the cantons. Yet some count the Savoyard but a spy, and the other hath already laid hold upon this occasion to urge the protestant cantons to renew

* "During the truce, the popish cantons made an invasion (to the number of about three thousand) upon the territory of Zurich, where they acted all manner of cruelties, by burning, rapes, plunderings, and slaying many, both old and young. General Wardmuller being advertised of these doings, immediately crossed the lake with some troops, and gave them a gallant charge, forcing them to retire into the territory of Switz and Zug, where they immediately fell to committing the like cruelties as before, and burnt five villages down to the ground; whereupon Colonel Swyer, who commands the forces of the popish cantons, sent a messenger to General Wardmuller to desire him to forbear, pretending that what had been done by his men was done without his order, which is a matter hardly to be believed."—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 299, *News from Switzerland*.

their league with France. Some say, Berne hath promised to do it; but Zurich will give no answer till France have paid what it owes them.

I received yesterday a High-Dutch letter, dated Feb. 9th, subscribed thus:—"The plenipotentiary Ambassadors of Zurich and Berne now met at Baden." In which letter they tell me that some of the cantons hope to compose this controversy shortly, to the content of the protestants, of which they should have greater hope if the public ministers of England and Netherlands were among them, and therefore they long to see us there, believing that we have sufficient power and authority to appear in that business. Howsoever, they promise to give me account of the progress of that treaty. In my letters to Zurich I wrote that I hoped to be there the 19th or 20th of this month. As soon as I come among them I shall endeavour to understand their minds concerning the treaty, and what they desire their protestant friends to do in it; for out of their letters I cannot gather anything to that purpose worth writing.

I hoped by this post to have received some instructions from Whitehall, for my demeanour in those affairs; I am afraid that when I come amongst them they will desire me to appear further in it than I shall be willing to do, till I receive power from his highness to that end.

I hoped also, that the letter of Berne which I sent

Jan. 16th, would have given occasions for more particular directions concerning the lending of the money, as whether I shall mention interest to them, or if they mention it, what answer I shall make them; besides a great many other particulars of security, of time, and place for delivery, and repayment, &c. Till I know what conditions will be liked at Whitehall, I see not how I can adventure to accept or reject the conditions which they will offer, or to propose other conditions to them.

Of all the Piedmont money, Mr. Morland is preparing an account to be sent to court this week. Jean Louis Calandrin, the merchant by whom it was all conveyed hither, was buried yesterday. It is well that we made haste to get that Piedmont money out of his hands, and to send it away by another, for otherwise we must now have waited for the payment of it till his books were overlooked, and all the more antient debts first paid out of the estate which he hath left. Henceforward money may be conveyed by James Tronchin, of Geneva, better than by any other merchant that I know there. Mr. Morland tells me he hath several times given notice of this way in his letters to Mr. Secretary.

It is reported that the ordinary ambassador of France, now at Baden, desires to put an end to the Helvetian controversy, that he may prevent the coming of the Duke of Rochefocault as extraordi-

nary ambassador. The Paris letters this week tell us that that duke is ready to come, but is hindered by the gout.

I intend, God willing, to go hence towards Switzerland to-morrow morning, so that this day will be taken up with visiting M. H. Van Ommeren and others, besides many other businesses. I shall therefore, at this time, trouble you no farther, but take my leave, and remain,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

J. P.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

22 Feb., 1655.

SIR,—You will receive his highness's further instructions, wherein he hath so fully declared his mind as to the affairs of the protestant cantons that I shall not need to say anything thereupon ; the main scope whereof is, to assist the evangelical cantons to make a good and honourable peace, and to that end to counterbalance by your endeavours the interposition of the public minister of other princes, who may be partial on the other side of the popish cantons. Here comes also with this a letter to the whole Helvetian body, the superscription whereof is left to you to make,* because

* These little states seem to have stood very much upon ceremonies in all their transactions.

there should be no mistake therein, and this sent to be made use of as you shall find any occasion leading you thereto, which may be of advantage to the protestant party, and not otherwise.

His highness, in consideration of your expenses, occasioned by your journeying to and fro, and what for the future you will be necessitated to be at, hath increased your allowance to 800*l.* per annum, to commence from the time you first removed to Geneva, and you may charge your bills accordingly; and in case the nature of your service shall require any extraordinary expense besides, you will also be considered in that.

Our generals are gone to sea, and we hope the fleet will be ready to sail very shortly upon the coast of Spain.

There is very shortly a public minister of quality to be sent from hence to France, who shall have it in charge to promote the cause of the protestant cantons in that court. There is nothing here besides worth the writing; the common occurrents you will have in print. I have received your joint letters, and one of a later date, signifying the receipt of my letter touching 20,000*l.* to be sent to the evangelical cantons. I remain,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

I have sent you the copy of the letter to the Corpus Helveticum.

We here understand a resident to be the next minister to an ambassador, and, indeed, not differing from one, unless extraordinary.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, Feb. 23rd, old style.

SIR,—After you left us we found the ways so bad almost everywhere, that we could not make such speed as we desired. Our journey was also somewhat the longer, because we sought ways free from danger of the popish soldiers, to which end I hired guides in the country of Berne; but when we came near the country of Zurich, Monsieur Holtshalb (the same that was with us at Geneva) met us, with a good convoy of horse and foot, and afterwards we were all the way guarded with a full troop of carabines, two or three times changed by the way, till we came to Zurich, which was yesterday, about two o'clock after noon.

I passed not through Baden; the success of the treaty there is uncertain; one day they seem full of hopes of a peaceable conclusion, the next day all their hopes are dashed. To-morrow I shall hope to receive letters from England enclosed in yours, and then I may have occasion to write more largely to you. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

JOHN PELL.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

SIR,—Yesterday, in the evening, I received the enclosed from Mr. Secretary to you, with another to myself of the 7th Feb., as followeth :—

A copy of Mr. Secretary's letter to me :

7th Feb. 1655.

SIR,—I have received two packets from you of the 22nd of last month, with the papers enclosed, and am sorry for the ill success of those of Berne. I have communicated your expedient for returning money, which is not held so perfect that any certain resolution can be taken upon it. I have sent you the enclosed papers, which you are to consider, and if you can contract to take up money so as the papers state it, make sure of 7000*l.* sterling, and you may charge the bills for it upon Sir Thomas Vyner and Sir Christopher Pack, aldermen of London, and they will be duly paid ; but be sure you make the bargain safe, and with good advice of honest knowing men. They must be ready at Geneva, and you shall have order afterwards for disposing of it. I suppose Mr. Pell is gone to Zurich, and therefore I have not written about the money to him ; yet if he be there, you must act jointly ; if he be gone, send the enclosed to him. I refer you to the enclosed print for the news, and rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

J. THURLOE.

Geneva, 25th Feb., 1656.

I have received no news as yet of your safe arrival at Zurich, but hope to receive it between this and Wednesday morning; it may be also I shall receive other letters from England to-morrow, these letters belonging to the last week, and then I shall trouble you with another letter. In the meantime I shall endeavour to answer Mr. Secretary's desire concerning the money, and have it ready upon any occasion, and also to watch every opportunity wherein I may approve myself,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I know not the contents of your letter, and therefore thought it best to send it by the post.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Zurich, Feb. 28th, old style.

SIR,—As yours of Feb. 18th [it was the 19th] came to my hands Feb. 24th, so I hope the Geneva postilion hath before this time given you mine of Feb. 23rd; and, no doubt, you now expected a larger letter for yourself, and another for Mr. Secretary, or at least, a long letter to Mr. Adrian Peters, containing some merchant-like description of my journey, &c. I think it is not altogether my fault that you fall short of that expectation.

Yesterday, in the evening, Monsieur Holtshalb was sent to me from the senate to bring me their answer to what I had said to them some hours before. What he said was little more than compliment and civility, save that he added, that they would send me something in writing to be sent to my Lord Protector. In expectation of this writing (whose shape I knew not, and desired to have my letters comply with it in some tolerable manner) I have so long deferred the writing fair of what I intended for Whitehall by this post, that I have not now time to do it. I now suspect that they are not ready to send it, and put it off to be sent by the way of Germany three days hence. I pray you therefore make known to M. H. Van Ommeren, and to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, as much as you shall think fit of what I am now going to tell you.

Yesterday, somewhat late, came hither some of the deputies from Baden; others being gone to other places, to put in execution the resolutions there taken; that is, to see all new fortifications slighted, garrisons dismissed, usual passages opened, &c., because of the pacification concluded at Baden, reserving all controversies to be decided by words, not swords, in a general assembly of all the cantons, to meet at Baden about a fortnight hence, according to certain *règlements* now agreed upon; so that now all being killed that had lived too long, the rest may go home to plough and to pruning of vines,

before the season be past. I have not much more of this sort of news to add, and therefore, lest this should seem too meagre, I have resolved to keep my letter open as long as the post will give me leave, that if they send anything more, I may put it up herewith ; otherwise, you will be content with this, and for this time pardon your faithful servant,

J. P.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

28th Feb. 1655.

SIR,—I hope the letters which I sent to you by the post this day sennight will safely arrive with you ; wherein you will receive his highness's instructions how to demean yourself in case a treaty be entered upon. I sent your letters under cover to Mr. Morland, at Geneva, supposing you were gone from thence, directing him to send them to you by an express with all possible speed. This day I have received yours of the 13th instant, whereunto my said former letters are an answer as to what concerns the composing the present differences by the interposition of neighbouring states ; and, as touching the money to be lent them, it is not possible to set down here the particulars of the security of time and place for delivery or payment ; or to give you any instructions that may be binding in point of interest. All those things, and what-

ever else of that nature, must be considered with them upon the place, and when you know their minds therein, and certify the same hither, you shall receive positive instructions what to conclude thereupon; in the meanwhile, the money will be transmitting hence, and be ready for them at a very short warning.

This evening, a committee of the gents. and ministers, whereof I made mention in some of my former letters, had a meeting, and have agreed on a declaration to be printed to the nation, concerning the present differences between the protestant and popish cantons, the better to prepare thereby the people of this commonwealth to contribute to the relief of the protestant party, in case they shall stand in need thereof.

Our generals are now at sea with a good fleet, and intend very shortly for the Spanish coast; there is nothing at all of news that I can inform you of, and besides I am somewhat indisposed in my health, and therefore cannot further enlarge.

I remain, your affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 13-23 March, 1655-6.

SIR,—Having this opportunity, by reason of this gentleman's direct and immediate journey to Zurich,

to signify unto you that on Tuesday, about noon, I received a packet of consequence, directed to yourself, and sent it away immediately by the post, as I also received another last week, and sent it likewise by the post, and I should be very glad to receive a word from you to certify the safe arrival of both the one and the other, both for my own and Mr. Secretary's satisfaction. The last night came here an express from the valleys, with the letter enclosed, directed to us from the poor people, to give them counsel how to behave themselves, being as it were at the last gasp,—that is to say, being so extremely pressed to ratify the former treaty by an express messenger from the King of France. This morning, I intend to send an express with it to Lyons to overtake the post, that so they may have timely notice thereof in England, for that is one of the most difficult points that these poor people have yet met with. My time is spent by reason of the sudden departure of this gentleman, and I am forced to break off and only say that I am, Sir, your most humble and affectionate servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, March 13, English style.

SIR,—I wrote hence by the last post and sent it to Geneva to Mr. Morland; since that time I have re-

ceived from him Mr. Secretary's letters, dated Feb. 22nd, with further instructions from his highness, and a letter to the whole Helvetian body, sealed, but not superscribed, together with an open copy of the said letter; all which I shewed and interpreted to the elder consul of this city the next day. He said, the letter was sufficient, and might be made use of hereafter; but the state of their affairs was yet so uncertain that no man could foresee the end of these troubles. "For," said he, "we thought we should have met at Baden, March 12th, and there begun to plead our cause, and to shew the intolerableness of our grievances in the court now erected for that purpose, consisting of six delegates,—namely, two protestant umpires, and one scribe, and as many papists, of which court Monsieur Wetsten, consul of Basil (one of our delegates), is to be president. To him we sent our complaints in writing, desiring the copy of our adversaries' complaints. He answered, that they had not yet sent him theirs, and till they sent theirs they should have no copy of ours, it being just and impartial to interchange complaints at the same moment, that neither party might have any advantage over the other for penning their first declarations, or better studying their arguments for defence. A little after, we received a letter written in his name, telling us that his old disease of the hand-gout was come upon him, so that he could

not write himself, nor be present at Baden on the day appointed, and therefore he desired us to choose some other arbitrator in his place, or else to have patience and put off the day till he might be able to serve us, which he hoped might be within a fortnight or thereabout. We have written to him that we had rather expect his recovery than substitute any other in his place.”

I then asked the burgomaster what form of process they intended to observe. He answered, “ When we have seen one another’s complaints, we shall appoint deputies on both sides to produce such reasons as we hope may prevail with the judges of our controversies to incline to our part. But it is scarce to be hoped that the judges, being of different religion, can agree in their sentence; and yet it will be nothing worth, if they do not agree in it, because, their number being equal, will keep the number of votes equal. It is very likely that the four judges will presently foresee this difficulty, and therefore will from the beginning prefer the amiable way of endeavouring to frame such a temperament of our desires as that they may, by persuasions, induce us to yield something on both sides, and, by condescension, to meet in some form of agreement. And herein, friends on both sides interposing may be very useful. But when we consider the nature of our grievances and the humour of our adversaries, we dare not hope that

we can come to such an agreement in all points ; wherefore, when the court shall dissolve, as despairing of a conclusion, those undetermined grievances may cast us into a new war ; for where arbiters cannot make an end, the parties litigantes must either resolve to suffer the grievances and undergo the burdens with patience, or to vindicate themselves with force, unless the fear of the sad effects of a new war prevail so far with us as, by compromise, resign all to the award of one or two super-arbiters. But where shall we find them ?” I answered, “ Perhaps both sides would agree to refer all to the French king, as being the most impartial of all the popish princes, and a desirer of their quiet.” “ We,” said he, “ shall never be persuaded to trust France with our interests that concern religion. But,” said he, “ if the papists choose France, and will be contented that we shall choose England, some better end may come of it than now we can foresee. I confess,” said he, “ I have not yet spoken with any other concerning this conceit of having France and England for super-arbiters ; nor is it time to speak of it till we see the unavoidable necessity of taking some such course. If I then make such a motion, perhaps many will assent to it, because they cannot shew us a more sovereign remedy for our disease.”

I then told him that I had sent into England one copy of their *Instrumentum Pacis*, and had newly

gotten from the secretaries another copy for myself. I asked why in it they had made no mention of the ambassadors of France and Savoy? He answered, "The neutral interposing cantons proposed it to the rest. But they all agreed in this answer: that though the Savoyard had done his part to bring them to an agreement, yet the Frenchman had done nothing at all towards it, so that there was no reason to make any mention of him; and therefore it was likely the other would be contented to be omitted also, rather than undergo the envy of being named alone. And, indeed, we found that the ambassador of Savoy did not desire so much as letters of thanks from the whole *Corpus Helveticum* to his duke, but that as he had brought letters severally to Zurich, to Berne, and the five little cantons, so he might carry back as many several answers to his master, which we promised him, and that in those answers we should acknowledge his diligent endeavours to restore our peace. As for the French ambassador, because he had been all that while at Baden, and moved in our business no more than if he had been an image of stone, we all resolved to write an answer to the king his master, in the name of the thirteen cantons, thanking his majesty for his care of our quiet, and signifying, that of ourselves we had fallen into a way of peace, which we hoped would be of long continuance. We also

agreed to put no word into that letter that might seem to acknowledge that his ambassador had been at all useful to us ; as also that we would not make so much use of that ambassador as to convey our letter, but that we would send it to court by some other hand." " We," said the deputy of Uri, " resolve to write another from ourselves to his king, wherein we shall tell his majesty that his ambassador did not at all endeavour to promote our agreement ; but all he did was manifestly to hinder it as much as he could."

I then asked the burgomaster whether the ambassador of Savoy had his letters with him when he went from Baden. " No," said he ; " he shall have them before he goes out of the country. When he went from Baden, he told us that the deputies of Switz, and of the other small cantons, had prayed him to go into their countries to pacify the people, who would not be well pleased with them for yielding in some particulars at Baden. But," said he, " we hear he went to Lucerne, and there he is yet." " There," said I, " he hath an opportunity to consult every day with the pope's nuncio ; and what that will produce only time can tell us ; at least, it may make him so much the more fit to speak with authority to those democratical meetings of the small cantons, as having the approbation of the pope's nuncio, who is a

kinsman to their Latin protecting saint, Carlo Borromeo. But will he not return to these parts?" "Truly," said the burgomaster, "we neither know whether he will come back or whether the ordinary French ambassador will come again to Baden when we next meet there. But we may have others. Yesterday, the Venetian resident shewed me a letter from him that is Venetian resident at Vienna; wherein he writes, that the catholic cantons had prayed the emperor to send a public minister to interpose for them, which his imperial majesty immediately granted. So that from thence, and many other popish princes, we may have public ministers who may perhaps do us more harm than good."

The post will not give me leave to add the rest of our discourse, upon occasion of their *Instrumentum Pacis*, or of Mr. Secretary's letters; in which letters I also find something which very nearly concerns my purse. It will be easy for Mr. Secretary to cause fifty pounds to be expressed in every warrant for the time to come more than was in any that is past; but for my arrears I see no way to help me but by one extraordinary warrant, in which, methinks, it should not be hard for Mr. Secretary to procure some mention to be made, and some consideration to be had, of my four journeys, which truly were more costly than anybody at

Whitehall will believe. But I must leave this argument till another opportunity, having now only time to add that

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. P.

Berne hath not yet returned an answer to Zurich concerning the form of the obligation.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, March 20-30, 1656.

SIR,—March 13th I answered yours of Feb. 22nd. The next evening I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated February 28th, which, with the former letter, hath given occasion to the senate of Zurich to pen a second answer in High Dutch for me. The first was in Latin, dated Feb. 27th. I sent you two copies of it, which I hope are both come to your hand. Yesternight, they delivered their second to be turned into Latin. The translator shewed me the Dutch copy, and promised to despatch the translation, so that I may have it to-day, before the Geneva post go hence.

I believe a part of the same answer shall be put into their letters which they intend to write Mr. H. Van Ommeren, who wrote lately to them and sent them a copy of his credentials, whereby we see his

new title to be *Ordinum Generalium Prolegatus Extraordinarius ad Cantones Evangelicos*. In his letter to this senate, he tells them, that he was ready to come to them ; but now the peace is made, he must stay at Geneva for new instructions. I send you herewith a copy of his credentials, as also letters from the French king, and the Dukes of Venice and Savoy, to these cantons, concerning these troubles.

I have also copies of letters written to them upon the same occasion from the emperor, the Archduke of Austria that resides in Tyrol, the Electors of Bavaria and Heidelberg, and from the German ambassadors assembled at Francfort. They are all written in High Dutch, and therefore perhaps you will not desire copies of them.

At Arraw, the next Monday, March 24th, there will be a meeting of deputies from Zurich and Berne only. By this day sennight I may perhaps be able to tell you some of their deliberations and resolutions there. In the meantime,

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. P.

Postscript. The post being almost ready to go away, I began to think of sealing up my letters, when I had notice that a committee from the senate would come to my lodging, and bring me their answer. There came five,—the consul heretofore mentioned, the proconsul, two other senators, and

the second secretary of state. The consul made a long speech in High Dutch, and afterward delivered this adjoined Latin writing as the sum of what he had said. I received it, telling them that I conceived their intention was, that I should send away that copy to-day towards England by the post of Geneva, and therefore at their better leisure they would let me have another copy that I might have more time to consider it, and crave their explication, if I found anything in it that seemed not sufficiently explained ; which explication might be necessary for me, because they had, toward the end of their speech, expressed a confidence, that (if I would but do my endeavour in clearly and intelligibly representing their condition to his highness) they should, besides the money lent, receive a greater pecuniary supply, by way of a deposit, not to be disposed of but with the consent and approbation of his highness. I promised them that nothing should be wanting on my part ; only I prayed them that they would put on a resolution, and make me a promise to give me very full information of all that might be requisite to be known by him that would so represent their condition, as that hereafter England might be able to make a nearer estimate of their abilities, necessities, and urgent occasions to call upon their friends for assistance.

Having to this purpose made a long reply, in Latin, to a multitude of particulars of the consul's

speech, I concluded, telling them that some of that which had been said might be presently written, and sent into England this week, with the writing which they had then delivered to me, which, with my other letters for Geneva, I intended to send away as soon as I could by an express that might overtake the Geneva postilion in the way, or find him to-morrow morning, before he went out of his lodging.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 20th March, 1655.

SIR,—I have had no letter from you since your departure from Geneva; Mr. Morland sent me yours to him by the last post, whereby we are confirmed that the peace is concluded between the protestant and popish cantons; and hope by your next to receive the whole state of that business, which is longed for, that H. H. may be able to give you such further directions as is necessary. In the meantime, I think we need not make any great haste to return the intended loan. I hope you have received H. H.'s instructions to you, in reference to a treaty which might be between them; and, if anything be yet left to be done of that nature (which we know not), I suppose you will apply yourself thereto, in the most effectual way appearing to you.

Our fleet is gone to sea towards Spain ; but I fear they are not far proceeded on their voyage, in respect there hath been very bad weather since their going forth. We are here in a very quiet condition ; those called fifth-monarchy men, whose numbers are very inconsiderable, would work some trouble, but are not able, but do lose in the little esteem they have every day. I can add nothing but the assurance that I am

Your very affectionate friend and servant,
JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

SIR,—In my last week's letter, I sent a copy of Mr. H. Van Ommeren's new credentials, as *Prolegatus extraordinarius* in these countries, as also the copies of letters from the French king, and dukes of Venice and Savoy. I added the Latin paper which was delivered to me March 20th, by the consul of Zurich, as the sum of what he had said to me. I hope all these are come to your hand. I have since received a copy of that Latin paper for myself, and have discoursed with some of them concerning it, as also concerning this other paper, which I send herewith ; so that I have made some way toward the full understanding of their minds for both. This obligation, which I now send, was

shewn me four days ago, in High Dutch, as a first draught. To-day, one of their senators sends me this Latin translation, and in an adjoined letter tells me, they have sent it to Berne, that they may agree in one form. It is very likely that Berne will make some alterations ; yet I thought it might be worth my labour to transcribe it, that I might keep their original, and let England see a copy. Perhaps the next week may give me some other form. In the meantime, this may be read at court, and something may be inferred concerning the genius of this place. Mr. Morland hath promised me a copy of the accord that he hath made at Geneva for seven thousand pounds. If I had read that accord, I should be a little fitter to discourse with this people concerning that business.

The meeting at Arraw mentioned in my last is put off. Berne desired the meeting, and Berne hath since signified that it is unnecessary.

Since my last, we have news that the abbot of St. Gall refuses to subscribe the amnesty. It seems, he resolves to question his protestant subjects for their behaviour in the late war, as having favoured the Tigurines, and disobeyed his summons. This may prove an occasion of renewing the war, if some course be not taken at the court of arbitrators which is to begin its session April 9th, that is, about a fortnight hence, for this was written by your humble servant, March 27th.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

27th March, 1656.

SIR,—Yours of the 6th instant I received upon Monday last, with the copy of the treaty between the cantons, and other papers enclosed therein.

By mine, written to you the last post, you will see that upon the news of the peace the lending of the twenty thousand pounds was suspended, the intention being, and so it was expressed, to supply them with that sum for their wars, which being now ended, the reason of the loan is taken away. So that there will be now no need to give any instructions further about the business; nor have I anything else to add touching the affairs in those parts.

His highness is sending a gentleman to France, who will begin his journey the beginning of the week; he is a Scotchman, and of the council in Scotland; his name is Colonel Lockhart,* and he has lately married one of his highness's nieces.

M. Bourdeaux, the French ambassador, is returned from France hither: he arrived here yesterday.

Our fleet is yet in the channel, having been

* An interesting memoir of Sir William Lockhart is given in Noble's *Lives of the Cromwells*. He served first with the royal party; but despairing of its success, and disgusted at the treatment which he received from Charles II., he entered the service of Cromwell, and in April, 1654 (according to Noble's account), married Robina Sewster, daughter of

hindered from their intended voyage by contrary winds above these ten days.

The learned Bishop of Armagh, Dr. Usher, died upon Friday last, and his highness hath appointed him to be honourably interred, in Henry the Seventh's chapel, at the charge of the state. I have nothing else to trouble you with, but rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, April 3rd, 1656.

SIR,—The senate here is preparing all things for the grand assembly of all the cantons at Baden, which is to begin six days hence, where they say the ambassadors of France and Savoy will appear. They know that the French ambassador will call upon them to renew their league; and therefore this senate hath begun to think upon the conditions that may be proposed to him. Some would have them called *new conditions of the everlasting peace*, saying, that the name of *a mercenary league* is

John Sewster, Esq., of Wistow, in Huntingdonshire, whose wife was a sister of the Protector. Lockhart took ship at Rye on the 14th of April, 1656, on his way to France. He died March 20th, 1675-6, in the service of Charles II. Colonel Lockhart was knighted by the Protector on the 10th of December, 1656. Lockhart commanded the six thousand veterans sent by Cromwell to the aid of Louis XIV.

odious. I hear that some of the senators desire to know my opinion of the whole business, and to that end have resolved to give me copies, fairly written, of their *æternæ pacis instrumentum*, and of the later league made with conditions more gainful, and more dishonourable, for the cantons. In the meantime, I desire advice and direction from Whitehall, because I do not well know in what terms France stands with England. Some think that France sought England's friendship only to make way for better conditions in a peace with Spain, and that then they will both agree to quarrel with England. All that I have yet said here concerning that league is no more than what I said to them when I first came hither. It is not good to make haste in businesses of so great importance as the renewing of that league.

The senate hath two other great businesses in hand: their plea at Baden, and their militia at home, that it may be in a ready posture, in case the assembly at Baden should not be able to put an end to their controversies, and so to finish their late treaty of peace. They know that the emperor requires head-money throughout Austria; and they hear that the pope hath begun to call for a catalogue of ecclesiastical goods (I suppose only in his own dominions), that he may have a proportional contribution speedily. Yet it is believed, that neither pope nor emperor will send that money to

the popish cantons ; and, without pecuniary assistance from abroad, they will not easily resolve to stand upon unreasonable demands at Baden, and so make the assembly fruitless.

As for the Abbot of St. Gall, though he refused to subscribe the amnesty, yet he hath not hitherto troubled any of his protestant subjects. It is thought he will be well advised before he begin any such thing, lest he suffer on all sides, as the first infringer of the late agreement.

The senate of Zurich hath sent to Geneva to Mr. H. Van Ommeren to come hither ; and he hath, in his last letters of March 18-28, made them a kind of promise that he will come, when he knows the certain day of their meeting at Baden. They have also begun to speak of my going to Baden, which may put me upon extraordinary expenses, ill agreeing with the present condition of my purse : yet the treasurers at court will make no haste to pay me my arrears, till Mr. Secretary quicken them, and make them know how necessary it is that some care be had of

Your humble and faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 8th April, 1656.

SIR,—This afternoon I received two of yours ; one bearing date the 30th of March, the other the 3rd

of April, together with one to Mr. A. Peters, and the proposition of the Swiss ambassador, for the which I return you my very hearty thanks. I hope by this time you have received mine that gave you notice that I have received yours of the 27th of March.

This afternoon also I received two letters for you, with two news-books, which I send you.

I have sent you a project of my history enclosed.* I expect orders speedily to go to Paris, to meet Colonel Lockhart,† who is to come as ambassador to the court of France, to the end to inform him of the business of Piedmont. I shall send you by the next a copy of the acquittances which I gave to M. Tronchin. Being now surprised by the time, and forced to say no more, but that I am, Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I have orders to send immediately two thousand pounds to the valleys. I have not time to send you a copy of Mr. Secretary's letter, but have here sent you the substance.

* "The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont," on which Morland was at this time engaged. It was published in folio, in 1658.

† In the original the name is here, as also frequently in other places, spelt *Lockart*, which mode of spelling is adopted by James, in his "History of Louis XIV."

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, April 10th, 1656.

SIR,—I hope you have received mine of April 3rd, with the enclosed *obligation* as it was sent me from Berne.

April 7th, in the evening, M. H. Van Ommeren sent me word, that he was newly come hither ; yet, by reason of the extreme ill weather all the next day, and of his removal yesterday from the inn to his lodgings, I did not see him till to-day. I perceived that, in the meantime, some of this city had spoken with him, who (finding him not well informed concerning the late treaty, and the present state of affairs here,) had discoursed with him, and told him how things had passed, and what they desired of him and me hereafter. We were long together ; and I make myself believe, that out of my discourse he gathered something to that purpose that he had not heard before, or did not so thoroughly understand. He told me, that his father was buried but three or four days before he came out of his country ; that his mother is an old woman ; that his private affairs need his presence ; and therefore he had written earnestly for a dismissal or revocation, and expected it every day. But (because he knew the states-general would be glad to have some good offices done by him for this people before his re-

turn) he had, without particular order from them, left Geneva, and was come hither to see wherein he, alone, or joined with me, might be useful to these cantons, to whom alone he had credentials, and was not assured that he should receive others to the whole Helvetian body ; so that he did not think of making any set speech to them, but rather to take some pains in private discourse to promote their affairs, according to the light that these should give him. At Payerne and Geneva, he had always spoken with me only in French, and I had answered him in Latin. To-day he spoke no French, but all Low Dutch ; I replied sometimes in Low Dutch, but oftener in Latin, which he understands well enough. To-day, being post-day, we were constrained to break off ; but we may meet again to-morrow. The next day we hope to receive letters from home, by the way of Geneva.

Of the four deputies of Zurich, three went to Baden yesterday ; the chiefest stays yet here, because of some indisposition. Easter week is the usual time of changing magistrates and officers at Berne ; so that no deputy from thence will appear at Baden before April 14th. The great senate of two hundred at Berne have voted the league with France, and have promised the French ambassador that they will renew it.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 10th April, 1656.

SIR,—I was absent from hence all the last week, which is the reason you had nothing from me the last post ; since there are two of yours come to my hands, one of the 13th, and the other of the 20th of March, with the papers mentioned therein, some whereof do require some answer ; but I shall not be able to take his highness's direction thereupon this night, and therefore shall be constrained to defer until the next occasion. There hath nothing happened here worth your trouble ; therefore I will end with assuring you of my being

Your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 15th April, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of April 10. To save your phenomena, I have sent again my project and Mr. Tronchin's account. The messenger that should have brought our letters from Lyons brings word that his horse fell into the Rhone, about two miles from Lyons, being charged with his letters and other merchandize, and so was drowned, whereby there are neither letters nor any light otherwise from England by this post. I en-

treat you to send me Mr. Wisse's speech at Turin if you can conveniently ; in the meantime, I remain, in much haste,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

If the letters are to be found, I shall send you word by an extraordinary. For my part, I expected orders to go for Paris to meet Colonel Lockhart, the English ambassador, and I know not what inconveniences may follow this accident.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden in Argow, April 17th.

SIR,—April 10th I wrote to you from Zurich : two days after I received a letter from Mr. Morland, in which were enclosed two from Mr. Secretary to me ; they were dated March 20th and 27th, in both which I see that, upon the news of the Helvetian peace, the lending of 20,000*l.* was suspended at Whitehall. I have, therefore, begun to put them in mind of what I said to them, presently after my return from Geneva ; namely, that so much money was intended for them, but I doubted the news of the peace might stop the sending of it, unless they could give me new reasons sufficient to persuade England to send it to them, though their war were

ended. They answered, their peace was *facta* but not *perfecta*, and that the war might break out again.

In my last week's letter, I gave notice of M. H. Van Ommeren's coming from Geneva to Zurich with an intent to go to Baden. At our second conference, I advised him to go thither the next day, telling him that I should not be long behind him. He entered Baden April 15th: in the evening he came to my lodging, where he told me, that he had signified his coming to the French ambassador, to the deputies of all the cantons, and to the Baron of Greisy, "whom," said he, "I know not why, they call the ambassador of Savoy, seeing the letters that he brought with him give him no qualifying title at all, and are no better than might be given some envoy." He said, that the deputies of the protestant cantons had been with him to salute him, but nobody else, save that the French ambassador had sent his secretary to him to congratulate his safe arrival, and with very civil language to pray him not to exact any unusual entertainment, as if he were an ambassador, when he had not the title. "But," said M. H. Van Ommeren, "I gave him great variety of examples, wherein it appeared that if any of the states-general did come to visit any ambassador, the manner was to receive him with as much respect as if he were their ambassador, though his title were but deputy, perhaps, or commissioner." I replied,

that this French ambassador might be ignorant of that custom, and was not a man likely to alter his first resolutions. "Then," said he, "my resolution must be, not to go to him, or speak with him, as indeed I think it unnecessary, for I perceive not that he hath any considerable influence upon the affections or affairs of this people. After some other discourse concerning lodgings, &c., the Prolegatus Belgicus left me. I shall not repay his visit till to-morrow, not only because it is post-day, but also because I must tarry within, in expectation of the deputies of the protestant cantons, who have not yet been with me, but intend to come to me to-day. In the meantime, I can only add what I have here learned of others, namely, that some of the deputies of the cantons were not come to this town before April 13th at night, so that it was not accounted a full assembly till April 14th, in the morning, when, being all met, Monsieur de la Barde, the French ambassador, made them a speech, wherein he signified how glad the king was to hear of their inclinations to peace, and that they were so far advanced in the way to their former tranquillity. He advised them to take heed of a relapse, and therefore to hearken to the advice of all those that wished their quiet, and to submit to the award of their arbitrators, &c. When this unexpected audience was over, they fell to the business for which they were met. The protestant deputies demanded

a sight of the popish complaints ; it was answered, that they had not yet given them in, in writing. The protestants said, that was not according to the agreement at the former assembly. The papists replied, that the protestants had done greater things contrary to that agreement. Being asked what they were, they named some places not yet slighted, pieces of works undemolished, &c. It was replied, the agreement was, that those things should be done on both sides *pari passu*, and that they had left those works standing in lieu of such other places as the papists had not yet slighted, pretending want of labourers. This business was accounted none of the hardest, because it was easy to appoint commissioners on both sides to see all new works cast down by a certain day.

Therefore they proceeded to the papists' next complaint, which was, that the prefect of Turgow, a papist, had been taken by the Tigurines, and was kept in prison at Zurich, till the general release of prisoners ; but being now returned to his government, he finds that the people of Turgow had in his absence sworn allegiance to Zurich alone, and that the senate of Zurich had by their ambassadors released them of that oath, but this was not *restitutio integra*, because they had not yet taken their oath anew to their old prefect. The protestant deputies answered, that the old prefect's time of government would be expired about ten weeks

hence, and that it was not fit to trouble so many men for so unnecessary a thing, and so small a time. The papists would not be satisfied with this. The arbiters thought both parties would be satisfied, if the new prefect, who was to succeed ten weeks hence, should presently go thither and be admitted ; so that the people might then swear obedience to him after the usual manner, and that at the same time they shall renew their oath to obey the old prefect till the new one returned. This the papists seemed contented withal, but the protestants answered, they were content to let Turgow be new sworn to the old prefect, provided that all the other common prefectures were also new sworn ; for which there was much more reason, seeing they were all perjured, having assisted the papists, and borne arms against Zurich and Berne, who were as much their sovereigns as any of the other ; whereas Turgow* had not borne arms against the popish cantons, but only had obeyed Zurich (one of their joint lords), which, with greater force than they could withstand, had seized upon their places of strength and then commanded them to keep the peace among themselves, and not to stir out of their country to join with either side. The popish deputies were advised not to touch this string any more, because

* Or Turgovy, one of the nine towns or districts subject to the power of the Swiss cantons.

it sounded so much to the disgrace of so many papists in their Dutch and Italian prefectures ; so that, after a long contest of two or three days, they seem to let fall this complaint against Turgow ; and it is thought they will to-morrow produce some new grievance.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

In the country of Turgow are between nine and ten thousand men fit for war, whereof at least seven thousand are protestants, and about two thousand five hundred papists.

By this post, I hope to send to Mr. Morland a copy of the French ambassador's speech, but I shall have no time to English it : perhaps he may, so that he may send it you this week with the translation.

AN EXTRACT FROM SECRETARY THURLOE'S
LETTER TO MR. PELL.

17th April, 1656.

IF there had been any such great news here as your letter makes mention of, I should not have failed to have given you notice of it. I bless God his highness hath had his health of late very well. What hopes C. Stewart hath from the Spaniard*

* As the connexion became closer during the present year between England and France, Charles II. was slighted by the French king, and banished out of that country. He and his

everybody takes notice of, and no wonder that he hath, seeing he is become a son of the church, he having agreed with the Spaniard, as I am certainly informed, to alter his religion, and become a papist, by which we see, and so will the world, what religion he will have, if he ever prevails in his business. We do not hear of our fleet since its departure from our coast, which was the 28th of March. There is nothing that hath arrived here that is worth the writing.

I remain, your affectionate friend,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

SIR,—I have received yours of April 17th, and the enclosed speech, with a letter for Mr. A. Peters, which I shall faithfully send. About half an hour since, I received the enclosed from Mr. Secretary for you ; who also sent me Mr. Chamberlaine's (the London merchant) answer, or rather confutation of that account which I formerly sent of the conveyance of the nine thousand five hundred pounds

party were immediately entertained by the King of Spain, who hoped to make him an useful instrument against the Protector, with whom, as well as France, he was now at war. Many and various reports were spread of the conditions which Charles had accepted of the Spaniards.

sterling. It is a paper which he has given in to the council, full of most bitter words against all your and my transactions, in order to the taking the money out of Mr. Calandrin's hands, though I am persuaded, without any foundation. However, I perceive it may procure, in all probability, my undoing, though I bless God I am most innocent as to the affair. I shall send you a copy of it by the next opportunity. In the meantime, I beg your pardon for not writing more largely, as being something troubled, and remain,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

(Received April 26th, at Baden.)

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden, April 24th, 1656.

SIR,—I came hither April 16th. The next day I wrote to you somewhat largely from hence. I hope it is come to your hands; though none of yours came the last week to Geneva, as no doubt Mr. M. hath told you. The messenger would make him believe that his horse was drowned in the river Rhodanus, and all the letters lost; but Colonel Mey and the French ambassador received their

French letters here, by the way of Lyons and Geneva, the last week, without any sign of wet ; and therefore I fear the fellow was corrupted to deliver Mr. Morland's packet to the too inquisitive hands of somebody near Lyons. Howsoever, it fell out very inconveniently for me, who then expected your answer to my long letter of March 13th.

Since my last, I visited the French ambassador. He hath been in my lodgings to repay my visit. Our discourse was both times long, and all in Latin, which language he speaks well and readily. He believes that I can promote the league between France and the protestant cantons ; and would have me persuade Zurich to make more haste. I answered, that Zurich could not easily be persuaded to think of that renovation, till they see an end of this controversy with their neighbours. M. H. Van Ommeren hath not yet spoken with the French ambassador, for the reason expressed in my last week's letter. This morning Colonel Mey told me, that last night the ambassador of Savoy gave Mr. Van Ommeren the first visit. If he did so, the English resident may perhaps expect that the like honour should be done to him by the same ambassador. The deputies of the protestant cantons have not yet expressed any necessity of my speaking with him.

Their affairs here are not much advanced. The

interposing cantons have sent out commissioners, to see all the works demolished on both sides at once. They have ordered, that the new prefect of Turgow shall go thither speedily, and there take a new oath of the people, without renewing their oath to the old prefect, whose time expires about fifty days hence. This new prefect is to be of the canton of Glavis, which hath more protestants than papists ; and, therefore, they long since made an agreement, that whensoever their turn comes to send a prefect into Turgow, he should be twice chosen by the protestants alone, and the third time by the papists. This time the protestants send him ; and when his two years are out, Zurich will send a successor ; so that for these four years next coming, Turgow will be under protestant prefects ; and before that time be out, they hope there will be such règlements settled, that the following popish prefects will not dare so to molest or oppress the protestants there, as hitherto they have done.

The next contest here was about the order of considering what is yet behind. The popish deputies would have the arbiters, in the next place, fall upon the charges of this late war. Zurich says, the old charges ought first to be considered, as being the true cause of that. After much pleading and tugging, both sides are content to leave it to the arbiters, to proceed in what order they please.

Thus far they were come yesterday. Perhaps the arbiters will declare their resolution to-day.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Baden, April 24th, 1656.

SIR,—April 19th I received yours of April 15th, with Mr. Tronchin's account, and your Lemmata in French. My Piedmont papers are almost all at Zurich. When I return thither, I shall see whether I, or any of my acquaintance there, have anything to add to your store. Colonel Wyss is major of the city of Berne, which hinders him from coming to this assembly. I have spoken to Colonel Mey, to procure the proposition that you wrote for. I hope I shall send it you before you be so far advanced in your story as to need it. I have not yet spoken with the Savoy ambassador. M. H. Van Ommeren hath spoken with his secretary concerning the Waldenses. He told him there had been no massacre, &c. Both Colonel Mey and the French ambassador received their letters here, last Saturday, in due time, without any sign of wet, and therefore we suspect your *chasse-marée*, with his tale of a drowned horse. If you sift out that business, you may perhaps find that somebody

hath corrupted the fellow to deliver your packet to wrong hands. If so, I see not how you can trust him to carry any letters hereafter toward England from yourself or me.

Your faithful servant.

I pray tell Mr. Leger* that I had his letter of the 8th of April.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden, May 1st, old style.

SIR,—I was very glad to understand, by yours of April 10th, that you had not written to me the week before ; for otherwise I should have continued in the suspicion expressed in my last week's letter, that yours was wilfully miscarried, and the knavery covered with that unlikely tale of a drowned horse.

The same letter makes me hope that, two days hence, I shall receive Mr. Secretary's answer to mine of March 13, 20, and 27. Yesterday, M. H. Van Ommeren told me, that he will go hence on Tuesday next. If he had that resolution, he may be at Geneva May 10th ; not to tarry long, but to hasten to Paris, there to speak with the Low-Dutch ambassador, and then home with all the speed he can. He saith, he doth not perceive his

* The person before mentioned as author of a valuable work on the history of the Vaudois.

presence here is at all advantageous to the protestant cantons. He is likely to go hence without speaking with the French ambassador at all. With the ambassador of Savoy he hath met twice, as by chance ; but they never visited one another. The greatest part of their discourse was about the Waldenses of Piedmont ; I think, little to the purpose. I have told the deputies of the protestant cantons, that, when their affairs require that I should speak with the ambassador of Savoy, or with the popish deputies, I shall be ready to do it as often, and in such manner, as they shall direct ; so that I have no other occasion to speak with them.

They move so slowly here, that it is hard to discern whether they go forward or backward. The popish deputies, after much ado, have delivered their grievances, which are only concerning this late war. They say also, that their answer to the protestant cantons' grievances is in the hands of the popish arbiters ; but delivered to them with this condition, to keep it to themselves, and not shew it till Turgow have sworn homage, and all the late works of fortification be demolished.

Yesterday, commissioners from Zurich came hither to complain to the arbiters, that the deputies of Switz had refused to demolish the new works at Rapperswill, saying, that they must first have express order from home. The Tigurines protest, that they will not go about to demolish

their new works till those of Rapperswill begin to cast down theirs.

The slow proceeding sets the people a-talking of war again. One of this town, coming home yesterday from Basil, says, he saw I know not how many waggons of match, gunpowder, and other ammunition, going from Basil to Schaffhausen. Six days ago, Colonel Mey told me, that he had received order, secretly to put a strong garrison into Lentsburg, a castle but a little way from hence, belonging to Berne. Yet the French ambassador laughs at all those that say there will be a new war. The pope's nuncio at Berne openly persuades them to yield in many things, if not intolerable, rather than renew the war; but what counsel he gives privately we know not. One Crivelli is lately come hither as agent or messenger from the Spanish ambassador that resides at Chur, in Rhætia. It is expected he comes to help them to invent hinderances and delays; that, if the protestants do obtain such conditions as they desire, yet they may win them by inches, as the archduchess got Ostend. This is rather believed, because it is the Spanish interest to keep France from getting great recruits out of Switzerland, and therefore to hinder the protestants from renewing their league with France, which the forwardest of them cannot well be at leisure to think, as long as their controversies remain undecided.

Some hope the popish cantons will grow weary of the great expenses of this costly town, and will thereby be moved to make some end ere it be long. But the King of Spain is able to give them more than their charges, and will do it, if it be his interest to spin out this diet to a length beyond the patience of the protestants.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 1st May, 1656.

SIR,—As to the treaty on foot by the French ambassador, for renewing the league with the cantons, and their intentions of desiring your advice therein, whereof you make mention in yours of the third of the last month, his highness will be always ready to give them his best counsel in what may concern their affairs and interest; and if you can be useful to them in this particular treaty, he would have you communicate with them therein, and give them such advice as you shall judge profitable to them and the common interest, wherein you are to consider, that France is also a friend and ally of this state, with whom his highness hath lately made a treaty of peace, which he intends to observe with that candour and sincerity he made it; and yet judges not that France is otherwise minded for the

present, seeing they themselves sought the peace, and are desirous to join into further terms of amity, more strict and intimate.

In case your presence be desired at Baden, I suppose you are instructed by what you have already received hence how to carry yourself there for the advantage of the protestant cantons, so that I need not write to you anything upon that subject.

This last week hath fallen out to be very barren of news, so that I am saved the labour of writing, and you of reading, anything of that nature. We have had no letter from our fleet since they went from hence, but suppose they are before Cadiz, where two of the plate galleons are come home, and no more, and those not very rich, I believe not two millions sterling. Two others, and those the richest, are yet expected, but most think are lost in the sea.

I remain,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 6th May, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of May 1-11, with the enclosed for Mr. A. Peters, the which I shall faithfully send to-morrow. All that I have received in Mr. Secretary's letter is, that one of the Spanish

fleet is arrived, but not very rich ; two of the greatest ships being either behind, or else foundered in the sea ; the latter is much believed. Our fleet, upon the 5th instant, was as far as Portugal, so, as we believe, they are long before this before Cadiz.

I have sent you my reply to Major Chamberlain's childish and ridiculous papers, and remain,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I thank you heartily for your care in reference to Major Wyss's speech.

I have received no letter from you this week, save the letter marked A.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden, May 8.

SIR,—Since my last to you, I have received one from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated April 17th ; wherein I am commanded to correspond weekly with Colonel Lockhart, and to let him know the true state of affairs here, which I shall willingly do, after I hear he is come to the French court. By that time, I hope I shall, by some way or other, come to know his title, and the manner of superscribing my letters to him.

M. H. Van Ommeren went from hence on

Tuesday, May 6th, in the afternoon. He returned not to Zurich, but took the nearest way to Geneva, where he hoped to be May 11. There he intended to tarry three or four days, having received order to treat with some inhabitant of Geneva, to write ordinarily to the Hague, that the states-general may have (I think weekly) account of the Waldensian and Helvetian affairs.

When I last spoke with him, he told me, that having in vain endeavoured to contrive a seeming chance that might bring the French ambassador and him together, he had sent for his secretary, whom, when he came, he prayed to tell his master the ambassador, that he had an order from the states-general to recommend to his excellency the affairs of the evangelical cantons, and of the Waldenses of Piedmont; in whose favour he desired him to write to the court of France.

I asked M. H. Van Ommeren, what the resolutions of the Low Countries were concerning lending of money to the cantons. He said, that the provinces of Utrecht and Zealand had declared themselves ready to lend; but before they could know what the rest of the provinces would do, they had heard of the peace made at Baden; whereupon all thoughts of that kind were laid aside. But they all continued their resolutions of giving Geneva something towards finishing the fortifications.

I gave him occasion to tell me, that Colonel Mey

had shewn him his last letters out of France, wherein amongst other things was written that the queen dowager of Great Britain had given notice to the king of France, that her eldest son the king had abjured the heresy of his education, and was reconciled to the church of Rome.

To come nearer to the business of this place, that Crivelli, whom I mentioned in my last week's letter, is a colonel of the popish canton of Uri; he is sometimes at home, but oftener with the Spanish ambassador at Chur, in Rhætia; his principal residence is at Milan, where he hath a brother a doctor of physic, and the governor's interpreter for the Switzer's language. Some of the protestant deputies say, that if the assembly continue a little longer, Crivelli must go back to Milan, to fetch more money to maintain the popish deputies at Baden. Yet they move as slowly as if they were content to live and die here.

Two days ago, the arbiters pronounced a sentence to this purpose:—the arbiters, *nemine dissente*, have agreed in this definitive sentence, that the renewing of the oath of fidelity in Turgow, and the demolition of all the new works on both sides, as well within as without Rapperswill and all other places, shall be performed precisely fourteen days hence. They are in like manner agreed, that all the controversies now depending between the disagreeing cantons ought, without any exception,

to be submitted to the judgment of this present court of arbiters.

The deputies of Zurich professed themselves content with this sentence, but the deputies of the other side expressed much dislike. They applied themselves to the arbiters and to the protestant deputies to no great purpose. They therefore prayed the ambassador of Savoy to mediate and obtain that neither the oath or demolition might be deferred so long, saying, that the mutual diffidence ought to be removed as soon as might be. Those of Zurich answered him, that the popish cantons were the only cause why the demolition was deferred ; that if they had done their part, all had been done two months ago ; and now they make a great matter of two weeks. Yet for the ambassadors' sake, it should be done some days sooner, if they would deliver their written reply to the protestants' grievances, and would promise to leave those frivolous cavils and delays in the principal controversies. Yesternight, the Savoy ambassador told me, he had signified this answer to the popish cantons, but looked not for their answer till to-day. It may be I shall not hear it before it be time to seal up these letters.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Baden, May 8-18.

SIR,—I have received yours of April 29th, with Mr. Chamberlaine's papers. I long to see your reply that you mention in your letter. M. H. Van Ommeren went hence on Tuesday, May 6th, in the afternoon, with an intent to lodge at Arraw that night. He will hardly enter Geneva before May 11; there he intends to tarry three or four days, so that I hope he will not be gone before this comes to you. This enclosed for Arnhem should have been delivered to him here, by one of those four gentlemen that I sent to accompany him as far as Mellingen. I pray you deliver it to him, telling him, that I hope by his favour to receive an answer, and that I wish him a good journey, &c.

He hath order to treat with some inhabitant of Geneva to write ordinarily to the Hague, that the states-general may have (I think weekly) account of the Waldensian and Helvetian affairs. I suppose he will tell you who it is before he go thence; if he do not, you may learn it by some other way.

In Mr. Secretary's letter of April 17, I am commanded to correspond weekly with Colonel Lockhart. I wish therefore that you could get from his secretary the copy of some letter written to him, that we may thereby see what superscription, titles, and manner of writing must be used in our letters,

that they may be received and read by him without distaste.

The French letters say, that Queen Mary hath given notice to the King of France that her eldest son* is turned catholic.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

8th May, 1656.

SIR,—I believe they at Zurich will be easily satisfied with the suspension of the loan of £20,000, we here being not so rich as to send money, unless it be when the whole is in danger. This state will strain, when the being of the protestant interest is at stake, but the well-being thereof is under another consideration; and I should think the hardest part in reference to a perfect peace is over with them. I perceive by yours of the 17-27 April, what some of their grievances are on both sides, and to me they are things of no great difficulty, nor can have in them any great consequences.

Upon Thursday last, I mean this day sennight, we had letters from the generals of the fleet then before Cadiz; the letters were dated the 15th of April, old style. They were all then in good condition, and do certify us, that some weeks before they came

* Charles II.

there, two of the Spanish galleons were come in from the West Indies, which had in them about three millions sterling, and that there were two yet behind richer than the others, but it was thought these were foundered in the sea; there were also about twenty-five merchantmen gone from Cadiz to the West Indies with a convoy of five galleons. The rest of the King of Spain's fleet lay in Cadiz, being about thirty galleons, but were not ready to come forth to sea.

Two days after, we had letters from Mr. Meadows at Lisbon, concerning the negotiation there, which was, that the king had yet delayed to ratify the treaty made here by his ambassador.*

Upon the last Lord's day in the morning, we had letters from Jamaica, signifying that our men there had again recovered their health, and that the army was in a reasonable good state for action, which is some encouragement to us; and we are now sending a new recruit of men thither. I remain, your affectionate friend to serve you,

J. THURLOE.

* The King of Portugal did not ratify the treaty until the English fleet appeared at the mouth of the river, and then every pretence was seized to delay the delivery of the £50,000, which he had agreed to pay to Cromwell. The English envoy, Mr. Meadows, says, in one of his letters, that he was so unflinching in his demands and instances, that the king complained that he treated him and his court like negroes. The correspondence between Meadows and the generals of the fleet is printed in Birch's Thurloe Papers.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden, May 15-25.

SIR,—I had no letter from Whitehall by this last post. This week I hope to receive from thence answers to mine of April 3rd and 10th.

My last to you was dated May 8th. The next day, the arbiters sat here in a judicial form, and heard the chief secretary of Zurich plead for greater liberty for the protestants in the common prefectures. He told them, that this demand was not new, but the same that had been granted and promised by their ancestors in the national peace, and in the decrees of the assemblies, that followed next after that peace.

After this plea was heard, the popish deputies consulted whether they should reply presently, or hear out all the grievances the next day. The latter was easier for them to do: so on Saturday they met in the same place, and heard the same man go over all the rest of the protestant grievances. In the conclusion, he said, he hoped that the arbiters did plainly see that the Suitenses had given a just cause of war, and therefore they would condemn those of Switz and their adherents to refund all the charges of the war, and to give satisfaction for all the damages that those of Zurich and Berne, &c., had suffered by that war.

The popish deputies answered, that they would

reply at the next sitting on Monday, May 12th, in the same place. They desired the demands and reasons of Zurich in writing, which was promised.

When Monday came, the president of the arbiters, Burgomaster Wetsten, could not rise out of his bed because of a new fit of the gout; wherefore the deputies went to his chamber on Tuesday morning, where they found his legs wrapped up in sanelome (a kind of clay), and not daring to remove them into any other part of the bed. They stayed with him, and heard the reply of the popish deputies, who did not answer all those grievances; but chiefly insisted upon the demand of costs and charges, saying, that Zurich had given the cause of the war, and first begun it. On Wednesday, Zurich replied. The other side with much heat interrupted.

The same day, one of the deputies of Switz returned to Baden. He had been at home to know the mind of his countrymen concerning the demolition. He brought back their answer, that they would by no means consent to demolish those new works of Rapperswill till the other controversies were determined. To which Zurich gave no answer, but they keep true to their resolution to let theirs also stand undemolished, which they account more considerable than those of Rapperswill. In the meantime, the authority of the arbiters seems to suffer. The Switenses are the most stiff-necked and intractable of all those Highlan-

ders ; and will be yet worse, if the news hold which came hither yesterday out of Germany, concerning new defeats given to the Swedes in Poland.

Borromeo, the pope's nuncio, who ordinarily resides at Lucerne, was expected yesternight at Wettingen, a monastery distant from Baden about half an hour's walking. Some think that those of Lucerne have gotten him to come so near that they may make use of his authority amongst the other deputies, who are all more stiff than those of Lucerne would seem to be. Others say, he will mar all, and pervert all their counsels of peace.

Nothing will be done in their business to-day, because it is Holy Thursday. The papists have their solemnities in the town, and the deputies of the protestant cantons ride this morning to Zurzach to hear a sermon ; for the citizens of Baden will not permit the exercise of any religion but popish in their town (no, not so much as flesh upon Fridays) to any foreign ambassador, or to the deputies of those cantons who are their joint lords. It is one of the grievances now complained of ; those of Zurich and Berne would have some other place agreed upon, where both religions have liberty. The popish cantons in their answer said, they would never consent to meet at Zurzach. Zurich answered, that the records shew that their ancestors had no set place for their general assembly, but that it was often at Zurich, sometimes at Berne,

Lucerne, &c. Some have said, that the best remedy for this grievance will be, so to contrive the affairs of the common prefectures, as that they may have no more of those assemblies, for they do more hurt than good. Such a project some think possible, but it is scarcely ripe enough to be yet proposed.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden, May 22.

SIR,—I wrote to you by the last post two days after I received one from Mr. Secretary, dated May 1st, in answer to mine of the 3rd of April. I have here made known to the deputies of Zurich and Berne part of his highness's commands and instructions concerning their league with France. They answered, that some of theirs will not believe that it is possible for them to renew that league without displeasing my Lord Protector, and losing the remainder of their reputation in England. I answered, that this might happen if they chopped up an agreement carelessly and rashly, without any respect to their own reputation, and to the measures of it, conscience, and human prudence, which I thought they were not likely to do. I said, they had now heard all the objections that for some years had been made against the former league,

and they might take time to seek the best ways of avoiding all such blame hereafter, by the amendment of some of the conditions. If I could be useful to them in it, I should willingly serve them, not only from my own propension, but also because of an express command of his highness. I also told them, that France desires a more strict and inward amity with England. In such multitude and difference of heads and tempers, I knew that what I said would please some of them very well, but much displease some others that hate Spain, and yet love not France. I have also let them understand that Colonel Lockhart will be ready to serve their interest in the court of France, and to that end we both are commanded to hold an ordinary correspondence of letters, so that by me, or without me, they might let him know what they desired and believed might, by his means, be there obtained for them. But I have not yet received any letter from Paris assuring me that he is come thither.

As for the affairs of this place, they are but little advanced this week. It is thought, the arbiters must, to-day or to-morrow, take the judges' oath according to the old Helvetian form, and then both parties are in writing to deliver their promise of submission to their sentence, &c. In the meantime, all remains undemolished, the oath in Turgow unrenewed, &c., and

I remain, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO MR. MORLAND.

Baden, May 22nd, old style.

SIR,—With yours of the 16th of May, I received one from Mr. A. P., wherein he tells me, that the French are desirous to come into further terms of amity with us, more strict and intimate. What he adds concerning the English fleet and the Spanish galleons, is the same with that which he wrote to you. The French paper that you sent me concerning Colonel Lockhart hath no date, so that it left me unable to tell any man the day of his entrance into Paris. The French ambassador's last letters made no mention of his coming; but if he be indeed come, he will hear of it by the next ordinary. This week I saw a French letter from Westminster, out of which I learned that my Lord Whitlock is Tresorier d'Estat; M. Strickland, Colonel des Gardes de S. A.; Colonel Fines, Garde des Sceaux. Perhaps none of this is news to you.

From Cologne they write thus:—King Charles is yet at Bruges. He hath 2000 crowns a-month from Spain. He shall have the governments of Ostend, Dunkirk, Mardyke, and Gravelines. Woe to the English merchants!

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

28th of May, 1656.

SIR,—Yours of the 8th instant from Baden came to my hands upon Monday last. I suppose you know before this that Colonel Lockhart is arrived at the court of France; you may subscribe your letters to him in the manner expressed by the enclosed. He hath in very serious terms recommended to the court the condition of the protestant cantons, and also of the people in the valleys; and hath received a very friendly answer; the good effects whereof he is in the expectation of.

We have nothing of news here at all, save the confirmation of the victory which the Swedes have obtained upon the Polish army, under the command of Charnetzky; the particulars whereof, I suppose, you will have heard before this come to your hands.

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Baden, May 29th.

SIR,—Having received yours of May 8th, I told the deputies of Zurich here, that you had written that you believed that they would be easily satisfied with the suspension of the loan of the money, &c.

They answered, that to England it was an inconsiderable sum ; but to them it would be a very great and seasonable help, if they could receive it. I replied, that we have now very great occasions to employ much money, because of the vast expenses of our fleets, and that the affairs of Switzerland were now looked upon as composed ; but if they fell again into danger, they might be assured that the state of England would strain for the preservation of the protestant interest. They answered, that their affairs were not composed, but that they may break out again into war. Hitherto, the interposing cantons had endeavoured to bring them to an agreement by persuasions, but in vain ; and, therefore they had now laid aside that amiable way, and were entered into the judiciary form.

The arbiters and scribes took their oath very solemnly, May 23rd, in a general assembly in the senate house at Baden, whereby they have received authority to pronounce their award sentence ; in which, if they can agree, and if both parties will submit to it, there will be no new war ; but if the number of judges be equally divided, their sentence will be null, and all the labour and cost of this assembly frustrate, unless they can agree in some super-arbiter. If these judges agree in a sentence, and one of the parties will not submit to it, then the interposing cantons are bound to join with the submitting part, without any respect to the differ-

ence of religion ; and by force of arms to constrain the other part to submit also to their sentence. This the interposers promised in sealed hand-writings, which three months ago they delivered to both sides, before they would disband ; so that this way they may fall into a new war, wherein none of the cantons can be neutral spectators ; all must be actors.

I told the deputies, that I had learned that some Archithophel had counselled the popish cantons to part with their right over Turgow, and to sell it to the house of Austria (either to the emperor or the archduke at Insbrug), and that this nuncio hath assured them that the pope will be contented, if they sell it to any catholic prince. The protestant deputies seemed not to fear that this will be put in practice. But I told them, that I had assurance from very good hands, that if the King of Swedes be beaten out of Poland, so that the emperor may dare to enter into a quarrel with the protestants, the popish cantons will take his money for Turgow, and will leave the other cantons to struggle with Austria, in defence of the Turgovian protestants.

As for the king of Sweden, the papists are here very busy in speaking news of his losses, captivity, &c. ; but they have not yet had the luck to circumstantiate their stories, so as to make the other side believe them.

I have heard of a book of eight sheets against

the Swedes, printed at Gripswald, with this title, *Animorum in Europa et vicina Asia motus de Suecici belli motu in Polonia*. I cannot yet come to see it.

The Venetians have lately received a bull from the pope, wherein he gives them leave to suppress eighty small convents in their dominion, and to employ the money in their war against the Turk. The same bull, with a change of a few words, may give leave to all popish princes to sequester the revenues of all their monasteries, and to employ them in a war against the protestants.

The pope's nuncio still continues at the monastery of Wettingen, where he was visited by the ambassadors of France and Savoy. He hath been in the town of Baden twice, to repay their visits. Crivelli, the Spanish ambassadors' agent, went hence the last week.

They say here, that France intends to send two armies into Italy this summer; some wonder at it, saying, the French horses ought to have been sent thither in March, that they might by degrees become acquainted with the heat of Piedmont and Lombardy. Now May is past before they come thither, they will die there like rotten sheep.

For your news concerning Cadiz, Lisbon, and Jamaica, I give you thanks, and am,

Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 3rd June, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 29th May, with one for M. A. P.* I thank you most kindly for your Dutch piece, and entreat you to send me more of them, for I take extreme delight in the High Dutch at present, having bent my studies lately to understand that language. The enclosed A. I received just now. Mr. Preville is also come, who has brought me a letter from Colonel Lockhart, in which there is nothing but this, that he is at Compeigne with the court, and that, as soon as there shall pass anything considerable touching Piedmont, he will send me word, and I shall not fail to send the same to you by the first opportunity. Mr. Secretary has not wrote to me by this post, neither have I anything else worth the writing, and therefore shall trouble you no further than to say that

I am your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

I know not yet the title, but I write to him thus, right honourable, and, your lordship, &c.

* i. e. Mr. Adrian Peters, the assumed name of Secretary Thurloe.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, June 5, old style.

SIR,—I received no English letters at all by the last post. In mine to you last week from Baden, I wrote that the pope's nuncio was still at the monastery, near Baden; but the next day, I heard he was returned to Lucerne, giving out that he came to Wettingen only to visit the monastery, and when the catholic deputies came thither from Baden to salute him, he had advised them to embrace peaceable counsels, and therefore to make no more delays, but to submit all to the sentence of the arbiters.

I came hither yesternight. The diet at Baden ends to-day. The deputies from Zurich intended to go from thence yesterday. I made ready to go with them, but they sent me word that they must stay a day longer, because the arbiters had penned a recess, or final resolution for this session, and they had desired all the deputies to subscribe it, which they could not do yesterday, because one of those of Berne was absent, and would not return to Baden till night. Besides, there was another little stop: deputies were come from Mulhausen, and prayed the protestant deputies not to go from Baden, before they had given them some counsel in an unexpected business. There is a little village or little town subject to Mulhausen, which M. Har-

court hath lately claimed as belonging to Brisach. Those of Mulhausen fear that the French have a mind to quarrel with them. I believe the protestant deputies will only give them advice what to do in the interim, till they can represent this business to the cities that sent them.

I, being ready to go, and finding they did not desire me to stay any longer there, went away without them, that I might be here to-day to write by the post of this place. The ambassadors of France and Savoy tarry to-day at Baden to write by the same post, and intend to leave that town to-morrow. He of France returns to Soloturn, but he of Savoy told me, he intends to dine at Zurich to-morrow, from thence to go see a solitary place called the hermitage (*Einsidlen*), and thence to Lucerne, Fribourg, Berne, Geneva, &c. At Zurich, Berne, and Geneva, he intends to speak in their senate houses, and to give them better information concerning the Waldenses, both in respect of what is past and what the resolutions of the court are for the time to come; of which the chiefest in my opinion is, that though the duke be constrained to allow the inquisition in the plains of Piedmont, yet he will never admit it in any part of Savoy, or in the valleys of Piedmont. As for what is past, he hath promised to send me the relation as it was published at Turin in Latin, Italian, and French.

The arbiters intend not to meet again at Baden

about the settling this peace till four weeks hence. They will name a day in their recess, of which, perhaps, I shall receive a copy to-day before the post go hence. Howsoever, the deputies of Zurich intend to be here to-night, and they will bring a copy with them.

As for the alliance with France, Zurich would have money before they promise to renew it. The French ambassador tells me, that he hath much money in his hands, but hath no order to deliver a penny of it to them before the league be renewed; so that till one or both sides change these resolutions, nothing can be done. He told me, that the pestilence was gotten from Sardinia to Naples, and now from Naples to Rome, where it is much feared, because it useth to make great havoc of men's lives in those countries.

I am, Sir, your faithful and humble servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 10th June, 1656.

SIR,—This is only to let you know the receipt of yours of the 22nd of May, having little else to entertain you with by this post. The letters from the fleet of the 9th of May (the last that we had) do import nothing more than that the fleet was in good condition before and about Cadiz, and

that there had been no action, the Spaniard yet keeping within the ports. There is no other news but what you will find in the enclosed print. I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, June 12-22.

SIR,—I came from Baden hither June 4. The next day I wrote to you hence. Two days after, I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated May 22. In it, I am commanded to use my best endeavours to find out the intentions of both sides in the treaty, and whether war or peace will be the issue of it; to which I cannot yet say much more than what I wrote to his honour from Baden, May 29th. Without doubt, Zurich intends to carry all so fairly in their demands and pleading, as that the interposing cantons must needs pronounce somewhat in their favour, and constrain Switz and their adherents to yield in some things. Switz and the rest seem to desire to delay the definitive sentence as much as they can, having little hopes that such a sentence will be much to their advantage; but longing to hear of the ruin of the Swedes, and of a greater forwardness in the emperor, pope, &c., to assist them against their heretical neighbours. In

the meantime, the arbitrators are by their oath obliged to endeavour to make a full end of these controversies; yet they are loath to make use of their whole authority, but would be glad to find out a temperament not much distasteful to both sides. And therefore it is thought, they will set their wits on work to find out several ways of accommodation; by which means, some think, the next session will be longer than the former. It is to begin July 2. It is very likely that Zurich will desire the English resident to go thither again to countenance that part; but unless he receive supply from England by that time, he will be strangely put to it to provide so much ready money as will be fit for him to take thither with him, having by two months' experience learned how costly it is to appear at Baden, and to live there in such fashion as the present occasion of that treaty requires. Besides, at that time of the year, great numbers flocking to the hot baths (from whence that town hath its name), will raise the price of lodgings, and of all provisions, much higher than it was in April and May. Mr. Secretary wrote to him February 22nd, that his *extraordinary* expenses should be considered. But in the interim, it cannot but be a discouragement to a man to be put upon a necessity of borrowing much money of strangers, whilst the court-treasurers owe him five hundred pounds of his *ordinary* allowance for his use beyond the seas;

but will not vouchsafe to let him know when any of it shall be paid. A public minister from England cannot with reason expect that it should be easy to borrow money in this country, so long as Sir Oliver Flemming's great debts in Zurich and in Basil remain unpaid.

The ambassador of Savoy came to Zurich June 6 ; of his coming he gave no notice to the English and Venetian residents (there are no other public ministers here), and therefore neither of them took any notice of his being here. The next day, he went hence up the lake, toward the monastery of the hermitage, or (as they call it) Einsidlen, in the canton of Switz.

Zurich is yet the most backward in the renewing of the league with France ; but it is thought ere long they will be as forward as any of the rest.

From Rome they wrote, very lately, that they had apprehended an Englishman, maintained by my Lord Protector. They say, he had about him the draught of Civita Vecchia, exactly described, with the shape of the coast and shore thereabouts. I hope this is but a fable, because I see to what end they might spread such a report.

From Bellinzona (an Italian prefecture, subject to some of the cantons), they write that the pestilence is in Civita Vecchia ; and that the new Doge of Venice died of a malignant fever (perhaps the

pest), having been but nineteen days in that dignity.

The Baden recess in Latin, and the Savoy ambassador's speech to the council here, I shall send open to Mr. Morland, that he may read them and send them to you this week.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant,

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, June 19-29.

SIR,—Having received yours of the 28th of May, I told the chiefest here what you write concerning Colonel Lockhart's recommending them at the court of France, and his readiness to serve their interest there more particularly, when they shall let him know wherein they desire and believe he may be useful to them. They are yet scarce at leisure here to think what particulars to recommend to him. Since their coming home from Baden, they have sent to each of the arbitrators a copy of their demands and reasons.

Yesterday, the common council, or greater senate of two hundred, assembled; because, a few days before, they had received letters from the French ambassador at Soloturn to all the protestant cantons; wherein he tells them, that at the last diet

save one, they had by their deputies given him a solemn promise that they would renew the alliance with the king, on conditions of honour and equity. Of such conditions he intended to have treated with their deputies at the last diet at Baden; but some of them said, they had no instructions to that purpose. He therefore prays them, that all those that are sent to the next diet may have sufficient instructions and power to treat with him there, and to conclude the league. They sat long yesterday, and are at it again to-day. I do not yet hear that they have read the draught of the articles, as they were contrived by all the protestant deputies at spare hours of the last diet in Baden. That draught is not unknown to me, though I have desired no copy of it, because in treating, it may suffer great changes in every article.

They will have a league for the protestants by themselves, distinct from that league that the French king makes with the popish cantons; because, by this means, they shall have no occasion to dispute with those papists concerning such articles as they would insert with regard to their religion. As also the article of exception, in which they have named England, &c., the United Netherlands, &c. The former league with Henry the Fourth was for his own life, and his son's, and eight years after; now, they will have it for a certain number of years. In the draught they have named

fifteen ; but it is likely that will be changed, as also many other circumstances of all the rest. And therefore I will not trouble you with any more of it, but will here take my leave, and rest,

Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

MR. PELL TO COLONEL LOCKHART.

Zurich, June 19-29.

RIGHT HONOURABLE.—In Mr. Secretary Thurloe's letters of April 17th, I was commanded to correspond weekly with you, and to let you know the true state of affairs here, because, as anything doth offer itself, you would endeavour to dispose the court of France to favour these protestant cantons. In my answer to that letter, I told Mr. Secretary that I knew not your title and the manner of superscribing, &c. His reply came to my hands June 14. In it he gives me no other direction for a superscription than that which for this first time I have used, which may serve as long as my letters come to you under a covert from Mr. Morland ; but if I must make use of other hands to send my letters to you without covert, I must also superscribe otherwise. In these last letters, Mr. Secretary adds, that you have, in very serious terms, recommended to the court the condition of the protestant cantons, &c., and had received a friendly answer, &c.

This I have signified to the chiefest here ; and have told them, that after this general recommendation, if they desired to make a more particular use of England's good-will towards them, they might by me, or without me, let Monsieur Lockhart know what they desired and believed might by his means be there obtained for them. I do not perceive that they are agreed in anything as yet to be desired in the French court by that way ; and therefore I am not yet constrained to send you a hasty description of the state of their affairs.

Their deputies are to return to Baden, July 2nd, old style, for the finishing of the pacification, by composing their late controversies with some of the popish cantons. A few days ago, they received a letter from M. de la Barde (ambassador for France in these countries), in which he prays all the protestant cantons to give their deputies for Baden sufficient instructions and power to treat with him concerning the renewing of their league with the King of France, and to conclude it ; for there he intends to meet them. This gave occasion to the senate of two hundred to assemble yesterday and to-day. I think they will not proceed to any final resolutions to that purpose without making them known to your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

JOHN PELL.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

19th June, 1656.

SIR,—The answer which you signified by yours of the 29th of May, to have given to the deputies of Zurich concerning the lending of the money promised them for the war, is very just and true. Our want of money to support our own engagements is more than theirs can be, and our cause wholly relates to the protestant interest, which in all probability will stand or fall (I mean for the present) as the issue of this war will be. And although their matters are not yet settled, but that there is some danger of a new irruption, yet it is much more probable that they will agree than differ; if the dispositions of both had not been to a peace, matters would not have been brought to the state they are now in.

The last news which we had from the fleet was by a ship which came from them the 14th of May, which assures us, they were in good condition, part of them before Cadiz, and part of them in the bay of Tangier, taking in fresh water.* The same ship

* The despatch of General Montagu, dated May 29th, is printed in the Thurloe papers. Two projects had been consulted upon: the attacking the fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, and an assault upon Gibraltar, but both had been given up as impracticable; the latter (which seems to have been a favourite idea of Cromwell), because they wanted land troops. When these plans had been given up, Montagu went with a part of the fleet to Tangier, to take in water, &c.

brings a report, that the peace between this state and Portugal was ratified by that king, but we having no letter thereof, do not give credit thereunto. There is no other news here but what the print contains.

I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, June 26th, old style.

SIR,—In my last week's letter, I told you that the French ambassador's letter to the protestant cantons had given occasion to the greater senate of Zurich to meet two days together. After my letter was sent to the post, I heard that, in the senate house, they had read the Baden draught of the articles mentioned in my last; and that the senators had expressed their different opinions with so much violence, that they were ready to draw their swords upon one another, (for none of them ever goes out of doors without a sword.) It was thought that those that were for the renewing of the league were more than those that were against it; but in the end of the second day, when it was put to the question, they found a greater number of voices for the laying the league aside till they had finished that other business at Baden concern-

ing the composing their late controversies with Switz, &c. The next morning, they here received a letter from the senate of Berne, pressing them to hasten the renewing of the league with France, according to the ambassador's desire, whereupon the foresaid vote was revoked ; and, after much contest, they agreed to scan all the articles one by one. The fourth day began with no less heat than the former, so that they grew weary of that way. They therefore agreed to refer that business to a committee of sixteen senators ; twelve chosen out of the upper fifty, and four out of the remaining hundred and fifty.* Those sixteen were named before their two deputies went hence towards Baden, June 23. They desired to carry with them complete instructions and sufficient power to treat at Baden with the ambassador, and to conclude the league. But the senate is not here so forward, nor, indeed, was such haste necessary ; for the French ambassador will not be there before July 2nd, which is the day appointed for the beginning of the new session of the arbitrators, &c. In the meantime, the deputies of the cantons are to despatch the ordinary affairs, (of accounts, &c., which use to be audited yearly at Midsummer,) that so they may be at leisure to resume that more troublesome business of pacification, &c.

* The two classes, constituting the council of two hundred.

The ambassador of Savoy went hence with an intent to return to Turin. It is hard to foresee whether that court will think fit to send him again to Baden. Men think the pope's nuncio will not return thither ; but some colonels out of the popish cantons are like enough to appear there as agents for the emperor and for Spain. The Venetian resident never was at Baden, having no business with any of the cantons, save Zurich and Berne. The English resident may perhaps do them more good by tarrying in Zurich, whilst they debate the conditions of the French league ; and therefore he needs not hasten to Baden, till the deputies write from thence to him, or till this senate signify their desire of his presence there.

Whensoever he comes thither, he expects the French ambassador's expostulation for the false news (printed at London, in the French numeros, page 1257, from Lyon) :—" That the French ambassador looked awry upon Mr. Pell, and had refused to acknowledge him till he had seen his credentials, which is as false as that which follows a little after, (that there had been a great dispute at Baden between Mr. Pell and the Spanish ambassador.)"* Whereas there was no ambassador, nor

* " Num. 314. Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres, pag. 1257, de Lyon.] Que l'ambassadeur de France ne voioit point de bon œil le député de S. A. my L. Protecteur, ni celui de Messrs. les Etats Généraux, n'ayant voulu d'abord reconnoître

any other public minister for Spain at Baden, save Colonel Crivelli, an agent, whom Mr. Pell never saw. The last week's post brought no English letters to

Your humble and faithful servant.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 26th June, 1656.

SIR,—Yesterday, the merchants of London have received letters from Lisbon, signifying that the king had ratified the peace in the form first agreed. We are also in expectation of our letters, which we expect are on the way. The aforesaid letters say also, that Mr. Meadows, the agent, as he was going to his lodgings in a litter, was assaulted by two horsemen, who discharged two pistols into the litter, and shot him through the left hand. The men escaped, it being in the night; but the king seems to be very sensible of this horrid and barbarous action, and hath set a great sum of money upon their heads. He is in a good way of cure.

le premier, qu'il n'eût fait voir ses lettres de créance, et n'ayant point encore voulu visiter le dernier, lequel on disoit minuter un voiage en France. Qu'on parloit d'une grande dispute arrivée entre le Sr. Pell, député de S. A. my L. Protecteur, et l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, dont on ne savoit pas encore la cause." —*Note of Mr. Pell.*

His highness hath declared his resolution to call a parliament in September next, to advise with them about the weighty affairs of the commonwealth. I had your last, which giving no occasion of a present answer,

I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 1st July, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 26th of June, old style, and am glad to hear that your letter was safely conveyed by Mr. D'Ommeren. If you please to send to him, you may send me your letter, and I shall deliver it here to Mr. Tronchin, who will take good order to send it to him.

I have very great need of those papers which I have formerly mentioned to yourself, and to the Antistes.

Mr. Secretary writes to me in these following terms :—

“ His highness hath great engagements upon him at present, against the most potent and cruelest enemy in the world against the church of Christ, which he is forced to be alone in, all other protestants standing still, without contributing any help at all. And the Hollanders had rather he

should be alone in it, than that they should lose a tun of sack, or a frail of raisins."

I have sent you what news is yet come to my hands this week from France and those parts.

I shall faithfully send yours to M. A. P., and the other to Colonel Lockhart, as I have done the former; and, in the meantime, remain, in truth and sincerity,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

SAM. MORLAND.

I humbly thank you for the paper of news.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, July 3-13, 1656.

SIR,—The last week, the Geneva post brought me a letter from you, by which I understood that you had received mine of the 22nd of May. Two days hence, I shall hope to hear that you have also mine of the 29th of May, which was much longer, and was the last of my letters from Baden.

The deputies mentioned in my last week's letter, who went hence towards Baden June 23rd, returned hither June 28th. The accounts of the common prefectures were soon despatched; the prefects complaining that this short war had devoured all their profits, &c. Yesterday, the same deputies went

again to Baden, that they might be there present to-day, at the beginning of the new session, for business of pacification. There also the French ambassador is expected to-day. He will find the protestant deputies not yet ready to treat with him. The committee of sixteen senators here have not yet agreed in the amendment of the articles of the league. Some of that committee have shewn me the articles, with their exceptions, alterations, and additions, which are such as some others of them will never approve. Those that are most against the renewing of the league did at first oppose it in the gross ; but being unable to carry it so, they consented to have a particular view of all the articles ; and they now hope to draw the greater number to make so great a change in most of the conditions that the French will not admit them, and then the league cannot be concluded, unless Zurich be left out, as it always was till the end of the year 1613. Schaffhausen hath lately voted, that they will not consent to the renewing of the league till Zurich have first consented. But in Berne and Basil, the most are desirous to renew it speedily.

Some in Zurich say, this business will be concluded with all the protestant cantons in very short time. " For," say they, " the French are so desirous of this league with us, that they will swallow it with any conditions that we shall propose to them, be-

cause they intend to perform nothing but what they list, knowing that we have not power to constrain them to perform any of their promises ; and indeed," say they, " we deserve to be no better dealt withal, if we ever enter into a new treaty with them who have so grossly broken most of the conditions of the former league."

The French letters have lately described many eager practices of their churchmen against those of the reformed religion ; as, their petitioning the king to hasten a peace with Spain, and to curb the heretics in France ; that all their late-built churches might be pulled down ; and that neither Turenne, nor any other Huguenot, might have command in his majesty's armies. The last week's letters from Paris tell us that the assembly of the clergy had, a week ago, finished their examination of all that had passed at the conference in the lord chancellor's house, concerning some late enterprises of the Huguenots. Also, that the same assembly had received a letter from the catholic cantons ; but they resolved to send it unopened to the king, saying, it was not fit or safe for them to have anything to do with foreign princes or states, without the king's leave first obtained. Some here think they have great cause to desire to see a copy of this letter from the popish cantons to the popish clergy of France ; but I do not yet see how we shall be able

to get it. But some are more troubled to hear that the same clergy pretends discoveries of I know not what enterprises. They fear that this is a forerunner of some black enterprise against the French reformed churches. Some call to mind that Zurich and Berne were out of the alliance with France all the time of Henry II. ; but his widow, Catharine de Medicis, drew Berne into the alliance with her son Charles IX., anno 1565, and seven years after (viz. anno 1572), she honoured her daughter's marriage with the Paris massacre. They say, also, that the good lady at Turin is a widow-princess, who (like Catharine de Medicis) had a mind to give some demonstration of her zeal against her Waldenses, whilst her power lasted, for fear her son, growing a man, should have too much generosity and humanity in him to suffer his authority and power to be so much abused. They doubt that the superlative-devout Spanish widow at Paris (seeing her elder son near eighteen years old, and so herself near the end of her power,) may likewise think of doing something meritorious, unless she be dissuaded by the little dowager of Great Britain, who, we know, abhors mischief and cruelty.

I rest, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

Letters from Rome, dated June 14-24, tell us, that the pestilence spreads so much there, that, for fear of it, there were already twenty-five thousand persons fled out of that city ; and that the pope hath commanded his family to reside in a house

built by the Jesuits for their novices, at Santo Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, a solitary place ; but, for his own part, he hath said, he will not stir out of Rome, but will spend his time in visiting the sick in the hospitals, or lazarets, as they call them. That the Swedish queen was about to retire into a monastery in Campo Martio, to avoid the infection.*

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 3rd July, 1656.

SIR,—I have nothing to tell you by this post, but that I have received yours by the last, save that it is a great trouble to me to find you have been in some straits for want of money. I hope you shall not be put for the future to encounter those incon-

* This wandering princess had been resident at Rome since the beginning of the year. In a letter from Paris, dated the 9-19th of January, is the following account of the treatment which she received there at her arrival :—" We hear from Rome, that the Queen of Sweden made her solemn entrance therein on the 30th of last month ; that she was received by the sacred college at the gate called del Populo, where she mounted on horseback between the two legates, a hat upon her head, clothed after the French fashion ; that on Christmas-day she received afterwards this pretended sacrament of confirmation ; that she had dined in public with the pope in his chamber, his table being half a foot higher than the said queen's ; that, after the ceremonies of her reception, she was lodged in the palace Farneze, there to be as long as she shall sojourn in Rome, which was to be three months, during which she was to be feasted by the pope, at the rate of one thousand crowns per diem, and afterwards go for Naples, and from thence for Spain, where she will turn a nun."—*Birch's Thurloe Papers.*

veniences. Some part of your money is already paid to Mrs. Pell, and the rest shall be payed within two or three days. I think I told you by my last, that we are to have a parliament; the day is to be the 17th of September next. No news from our fleet.

I remain, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, July 10th, old style.

SIR,—I have told some here what you wrote to me June 19th, concerning the lending of the money promised them, &c. It is not hard to make them understand the greatness of the consequence of our present undertakings, and how deeply the protestant interest is concerned in the events and issue of the war between England and Spain; but they will not believe that ten thousand pounds is a sum so considerable in England as that it would be felt there, though here it would support their credit, and prevent great inconveniences, which otherwise will befall them, for want of ready money. The husbandmen of this country complain grievously, that they know not how to live by their labour, because they need many things which cannot be had but for ready money, and they are loath to take a little money for a great deal of corn and wine. So that they store up their commodities, and hope that

the King of Sweden will shortly bring so many mouths into some part of Germany, that the current of the market must be turned that way ; for now the Suevians bring corn to Zurich, where they sell it to the popish highlanders cheaper than the Tigurines can afford it. In this scarcity of money, the landlords and magistrates must receive their revenues in corn and wine, so that the treasurers hire more cellars and granaries, instead of buying more bags and chests. Many here urge the renewing of the league, more out of hope to finger some French money, than for love of France, or of any French interest. The ambassador knows their minds, and deals with them accordingly. He will not part with a penny till the league be renewed, though the crown of France be much in their debt. The sixteen senators, mentioned in my last, did not meet this last week. A rumour was spread here, that the deputies at Baden had agreed to defer all other business till the pacification were finished, and then all the protestant cantons might meet at Arraw, to deliberate concerning the French league. Yesterday, the senate here received a letter from Baden, from their chief secretary, assuring them that it was a false report, and praying them to send them such instructions as might enable them to treat with the ambassador. Wherefore, the said committee of sixteen meets again to-day.

At Baden, the arbitrators have met several times ;

but there was no general assembly of all the deputies till yesterday, to hear the French ambassador's proposition, as they call it. He came not to Baden till July 7th, in the evening. I hear not that any other public minister is come thither, or intends to appear at this session.

The ambassador of Savoy wrote to me, July 8th, new style, from Tonon, in Savoy, and sent me the printed Latin declarations which he had promised me at Baden. I have sent them to-day to Mr. Morland, that he may compare them with the like papers (printed at Turin, in Italian, concerning the Waldenses,) which I sent to him a week ago. I make no question but Mr. Morland hath told you why the said ambassador would not pass through Geneva, according to his resolution when I saw him last. In his letter to me, he prays me to write to London, that the gazetteer may be admonished to write with more civility, and in terms better befitting so great a prince as his royal highness of Savoy. "For," saith he, "when he speaks of the Duke of Savoy, and of the people in the valleys, he dares place them before his royal highness. I pray you," says he, "let them be taught to change *cette façon d'écrire injurieuse*." No doubt, he means, not *Mercurius Politicus*, or any English print, but the French half-sheets printed at London weekly, which they read at Turin, to see in what manner the English speak of the affairs of Piedmont.

About two months ago, they were highly displeased, finding a passage to this purpose:—"Our brethren in the valleys of Piedmont fear a second massacre." In which words they conceived a double injury done to his royal highness, by representing him as one that took pleasure in massacreing and exterminating his subjects; and by styling that a massacre which was but a chastisement justly inflicted, but with great clemency, and extorted from him by their rebellion; for so the court at Turin speaks of that business. Nor did that ambassador speak much more favourably of it at Baden to

Your humble and faithful servant.

P. S. From Rome they write, that Queen Christina hath taken her leave of the pope, who sends her two galleys, to transport her and her servants to Marseilles, in France.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 10th July, 1656.

SIR,—I see, by yours of the 19-29th of June last, that the arbitrators proceed very slowly in ending the differences between the cantons; and that the protestants are upon a treaty with France, apart from the popish cantons. We shall desire very much to know of the progress which is made in this treaty.

The Swedish extraordinary ambassador, having concluded a treaty with his highness, is upon his return home, very well contented. We are also very near the conclusion of a marine treaty with the Dutch ambassador, for the settling of matters of commerce and navigation. I can tell you nothing of our fleet upon the Spanish seas, nor of the treaty with Portugal, more than we know not the condition of either, but are, and have been, in daily expectation of letters from thence.

Most of the time is taken up in preparing for the parliament, which is to be the 17th of September next.

I remain, your affectionate friend and servant,

JO. THURLOE.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, July 17-27, 1656.

SIR,—By yours of June 26th, I understood his highness's resolution to call a parliament in September next. Almighty God direct their consultations, and preserve them from the exorbitances of some of their predecessors!

By your next, I hope to hear what news the court received from Lisbon concerning the wounding of the English agent there, and the ratification of the peace with England. If it be ratified, it will not be

long ere it be published, and then I should be glad to have a copy of the articles of the treaty ; otherwise, here we shall be cozened with false articles, coined at Milan by the Spaniards, to the dishonour and disadvantage of England and Portugal. Yet, whatsoever the published articles be, they will not fail to spread fictions, under the title of secret articles. When the French treaty was published, there was a paper of eight articles scattered abroad, as the principal part of the treaty. I think Mr. Morland sent it you at that time ; but, because I am not sure of it, I here send you a copy of it. In this country, a great number do yet believe it as firmly as their creed.

I do not yet hear that the French ambassador hath delivered a copy of the speech that he made to the deputies at Baden eight days ago. It was full of compliment and gratulation that they were in so fair a way of pacifying their country ; offering his service, if it might be any way further useful to that purpose. The same day, a Burgundian agent had audience there. He brought the yearly tribute for protection ; and prayed them to remember to include the free country of Burgundy at the renewing of their league with France, which the protestant cantons will certainly do, though the popish cantons chopped up the renovation with France, and seemed to forget their neighbours of Franche

Comte, contrary to their promise, confirmed by their subscription and seals.

The next day, the arbitrators heard the complaint of the citizens of Rapperswill, and other places subject to the popish cantons. They reckoned up their particular losses in the late war. The popish deputies were very earnest to have the Zurich deputies present at this complaint; but they refused, saying, that the instrument of pacification did not oblige them to be present, which the arbitrators admitted for a sufficient reason, well perceiving that their presence was desired to cause new provocations, which the arbitrators are willing to avoid, as desiring to compose the old quarrels before they adjourn, or set an end to this present session.

At Zurich, the committee of sixteen hath not yet made an end of amending the articles of the league with France. In the last article, they would include England, &c. Some of them have spoken with me about it. I have no order to pray them to do it, nor to tell them in what manner I would have it done. I am not able to give them account whether they were included in the late treaty between England and France, or to give them a reason why they were not. One of the senators told the rest, that it was no wonder if they were not included in such a treaty, being, in a manner, nothing but a cessation of hostility at sea, and a restitution of commerce, which were things that could not much

concern the cantons ; for, as for those eight secret articles, concerning the conjunction of arms, &c., I had told him, that they must needs be fictions ; because we were not then come to so near and inward amity ; nor, for aught I know, are we yet, though France desire it.

I am, Sir, your humble and faithful servant.

P. S. From Frankfort - upon - the - Maine they write, that a secretary of the Earl of Bucquoy arrived there the last of June, and told some there, that they should shortly see the archduke march, generalissimo over a huge imperial army, into Prussia, to recover the goods which there belong to the Teutonical order ; in plain English, to divert the King of Sweden from Poland.

SECRETARY THURLOE TO MR. PELL.

Whitehall, 17th July, 1656.

SIR,—At length we have received letters from his highness's agent at Lisbon, with the king's ratification of the treaty, to his highness's contentment, although it be to be suspected, that he did it rather out of constraint than willingly. The doing thereof was delayed until our fleet came before Lisbon river, and then, not knowing what their intentions might be, he signed the peace, and payed the fifty thousand pounds, which is brought into the Thames

in two frigates. Those letters confirm the hurt the agent received from two assassins, who intended to murder him ; his left hand was shot through, as he was leaning his head upon it. The truth is, his preservation was miraculous. At the same time, we had letters from the fleet, who are yet upon the coast of Spain, without having had any opportunity of action. The Spaniard lies close locked up in his harbours, and hath a very great army to defend his coast. I suppose you will have had a perfect account of the great success the Spaniard hath had against the French, before Valenciennes,* before this can come to you, and therefore I will say nothing of it. Yours of the 26th of June is come to

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

JO. THURLOE.

COLONEL LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

Charlon, 17th July, 1656.

HONOURED SIR,—I have received yours of the 29th of June last, which doth much oblige me, since you have been thereby pleased to promise me the kindness of your correspondence. What you

* Don John of Austria and the Prince of Condé, with the Spaniards, entirely defeated the French under Turenne and La Ferté, and drove them from their trenches before Valenciennes, on the 16th of July.

shall be pleased to propose unto me advantageous for his highness's service, or conducing to the good of the protestant cantons, it shall, by my best endeavours and interest, be carried on in this court.

The news from hence are, that the siege of Valenciennes is raised by the Spaniard. Marshal Laferté is prisoner, and his army hath suffered great loss. Marshal Turenne made a handsome retreat to Quesnoy. As to the superscription of letters to me, I shall beg that you will continue that which yours had carried, there being no title so acceptable to me, save that of being, honoured Sir,

Your most humble and affectionate servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

I send you no news from England, because I perceive you have them from a better hand.

COLONEL LOCKHART TO MR. PELL.

21st-31st July, 1656.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received yours of 3rd-13th July, and return you my hearty thanks for your kindness in letting me know the condition of affairs with you. If your instructions did not engage your endeavours for making our master's interest the balance of that treaty betwixt France and the protestant cantons, I should be confident

your own discretion would. His highness hath had all the satisfaction he could desire from the Portugals ; the money is safely arrived into England ; but that king was not to be persuaded to his duty till the pressing arguments of our fleet being in Lisbon road prevailed with him.

Our fleet it is in very good condition ; there is as yet no speech of its return. The French are like to lose Condé, and St. Guilan is blocked up and in some danger of being carried also ; the loss of these two places will relieve their army with above five thousand foot that are now in garrison there, and will weaken the Spaniard of the like number, that they will be forced to put in their room. It is expected the French army will very suddenly undertake some handsome action.

If it be possible for me to obtain a copy of the letter mentioned in yours, it shall be with all diligence conveyed to you by,

Sir, your most humble and faithful servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, July 22nd, 1656.

SIR,—I have received yours of the 17th-27th July, with the enclosed for Mr. A. P., which I shall faithfully send to-morrow, as I did that which I received

the last week. I have sent you enclosed an extract of Mr. Secretary's letter to me, of 10th July, as also of Colonel Lockhart's of 7th-17th July. I have likewise enclosed several letters of Colonel Lockhart, which I received the last week, whereby you will see all that Colonel Lockhart has done in the French court, in order to the affairs of the poor people of Piedmont; and that he has but small hopes of effecting any great matters for the present for them, by reason of the disaster at Valenciennes. I question not but in his letter to yourself (which I received just now and have enclosed) he hath informed you of all that has occurred touching this affair; he has acted with all possible vigour and zeal for those poor people in that court, and I am persuaded will never cease, although the present conjuncture of affairs seem not much to favour his endeavours; so that I know not what will become of those miserable wretches. Mr. Secretary writes that the next week I shall have orders to send them the 5000*l.* which is in my hands.

I humbly thank you for your civility in reference to the Italian papers, wherein I find still something that I may make use of, Mr. Secretary being very curious to know all particulars of all sorts of intelligence. I have written this week to the Antistes to thank him for his pains and care in reference to the papers I wrote for, and have entreated him to furnish me with those which I yet want. Concerning

Colonel Lockhart's title I am yet uncertain, only I choose to fail on the right hand rather than on the left. I have enclosed Mr. Secretary's letter to you which I received this post, which I would have specified in the former part of my letter, but unhappily left it out; it is my unhappiness at the very same moment of time almost, at least within a quarter of an hour after I have received Mr. Secretary's and Colonel Lockhart's letters, the messenger calls upon me for my letters to Switzerland, which causes me of necessity to write many times much more confusedly than otherwise I should, but I trust you will be pleased to accept the will for the deed, from

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORLAND.

MR. MORLAND TO MR. PELL.

Geneva, 29th July, 1656.

SIR,—Yesterday, I received yours to M. A. P., and a sheet of Italian news, and return you my very humble thanks. About half an hour since, I received Mr. Secretary's of the 17th July, 1656; the copy whereof is as followeth, word for word:—

“ Upon Friday last, Mr. Meadows' servant arrived here with the ratification of the peace with Portugal, to our contentment, and with it came the 50,000*l.* which is now carrying into the exchequer. All the

news that we have from the fleet is, that they are well upon the coast of Spain, but have had no opportunity of action. The Spaniard has by all means possible fortified his harbours, and his ships within them. Mr. Meadows escaped most miraculously, his left hand being shot through with a brace of bullets as he was leaning his head upon it. The carbine with which it was done was fired so near that it singed his hair, and lodged some of the corns of the powder in his face. I was not able to procure order for the 5000*l.* this week; by the next you may expect it from, Yours," &c.

This is all that I have received this week from England. I have received no news or letter at all this post from Monsieur Lockhart. I perceive, by what he sent me the last week, that there is very small hopes of doing as yet anything to purpose for poor people, which troubles me not a little: God alone knows what the event of their affairs will be, but I am much afraid for them. The messenger calls upon me, and I am forced to conclude, and have only time to say that I am, Sir, in much faithfulness and truth,

Your most humble and affectionate servant,

S. MORLAND.

I have sent you enclosed Mr. Secretary's letter to yourself.

MR. PELL TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

Zurich, July 31st, old style.

SIR,—The chiefs here seemed very well pleased with all that I read to them out of yours of 10th July, concerning their treaty with France, and ours with Sweden and the United Netherlands.

At Baden, three days ago, they gave in papers, which they hoped should be the last in that business, saying, that there was no need that either they or their adversaries should say or write any more, but only expect the award or sentence of the arbitrators, whom the French ambassador hath exhorted to lay aside all unnecessary delays ; but they, being now called upon to speak out, seem full of anxiety, despairing to bring Switz and their adherents to condescend in any amiable way ; and fearing that their definitive sentence will not be sufficient to prevent a new breach ; and therefore it is thought they will defer it as long as they can.

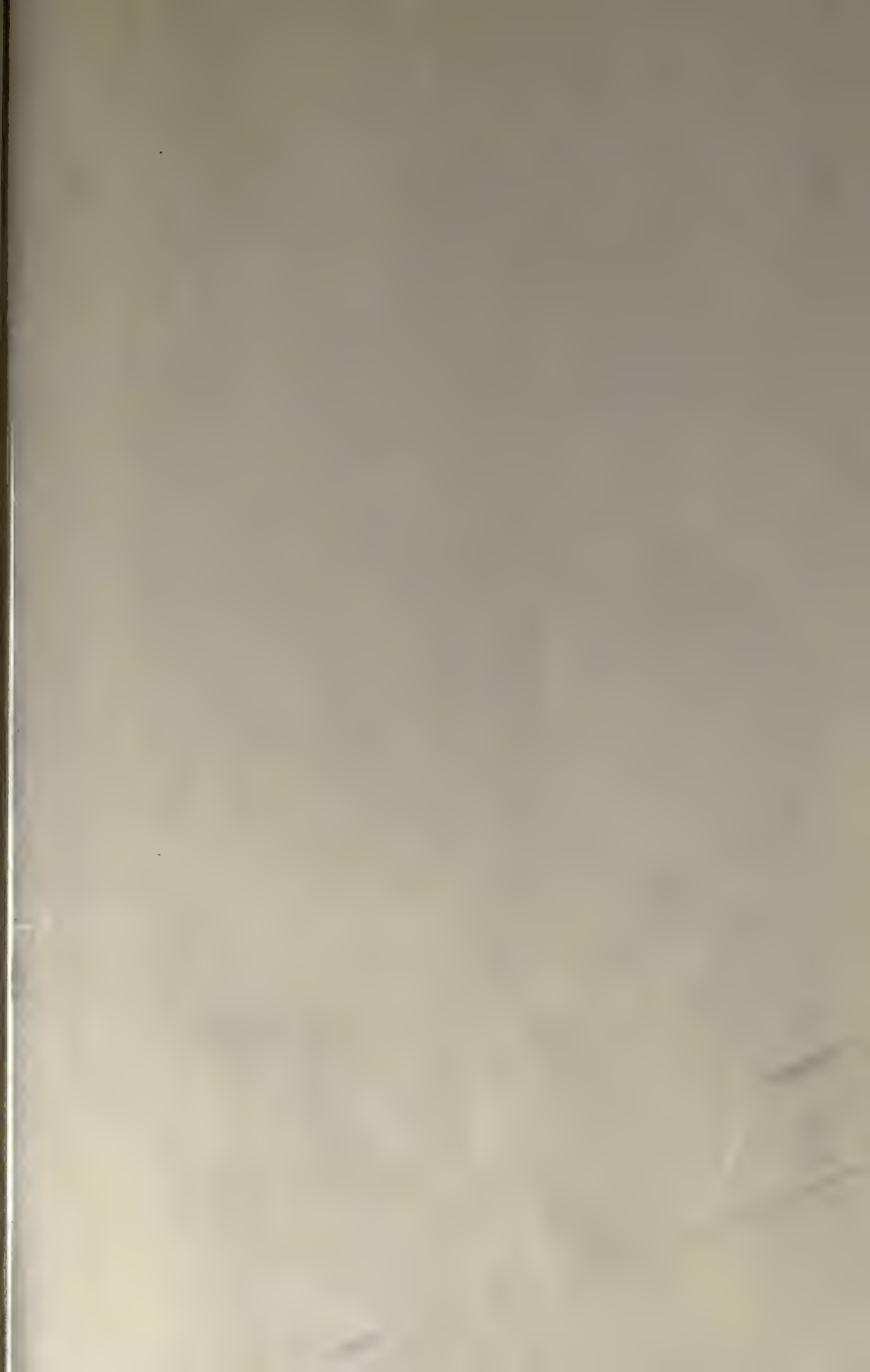
As for the French league, all the protestant cantons and their allies, save Zurich, are agreed in one form of articles. The Zurich draught hath passed the votes of their upper senate, and of their common council, as also of their assembly of divines. To-day, it is to be scanned by their tribes or twelve companies of citizens at their several halls. If it pass there, they say they will write out copies for

the English resident, and for the several cantons, in hope to persuade them to quit their former, and to present this Zurich draught to the French ambassador to see how he will like it. In the meantime,

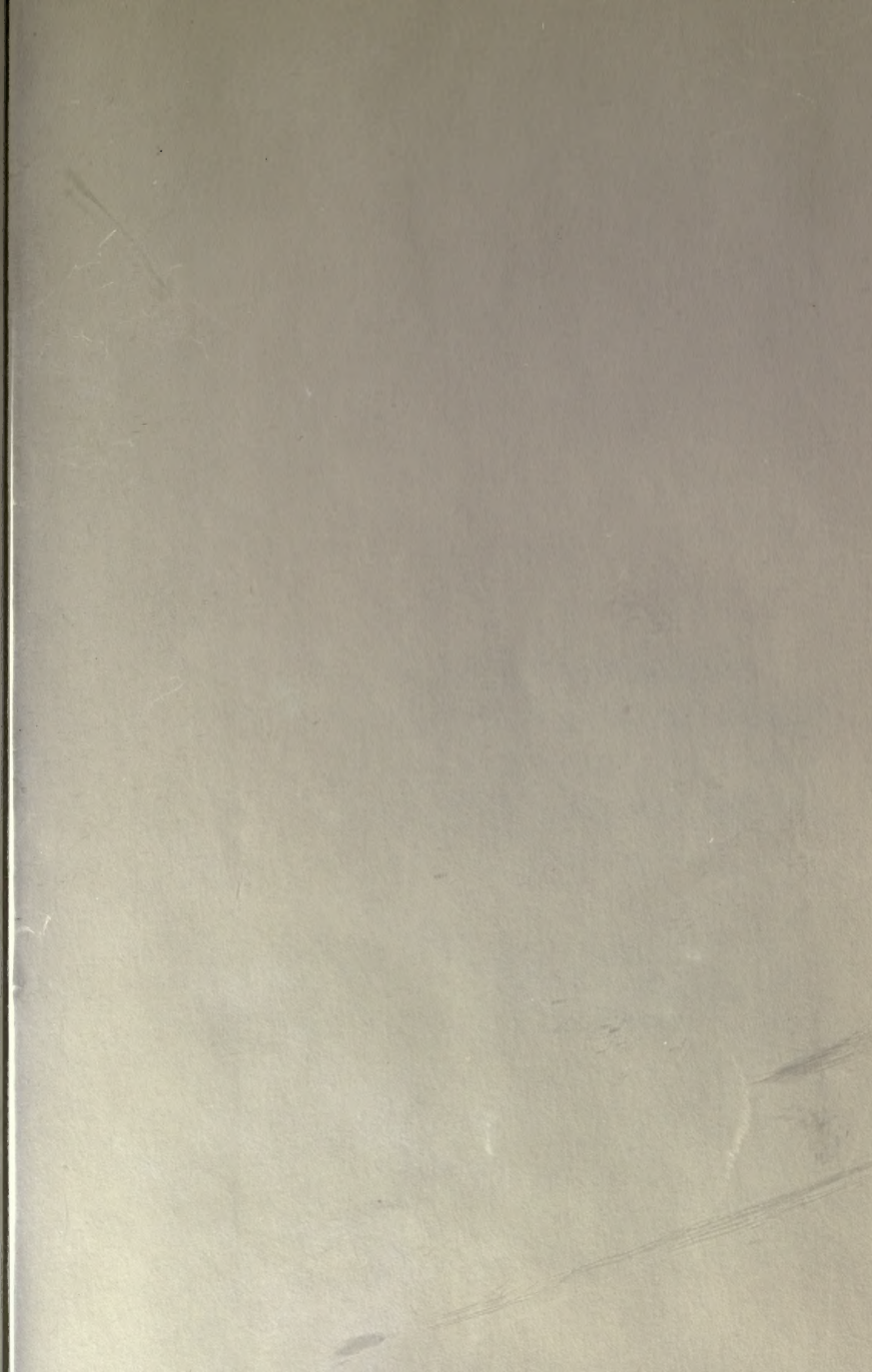
I remain, Sir, your faithful servant.

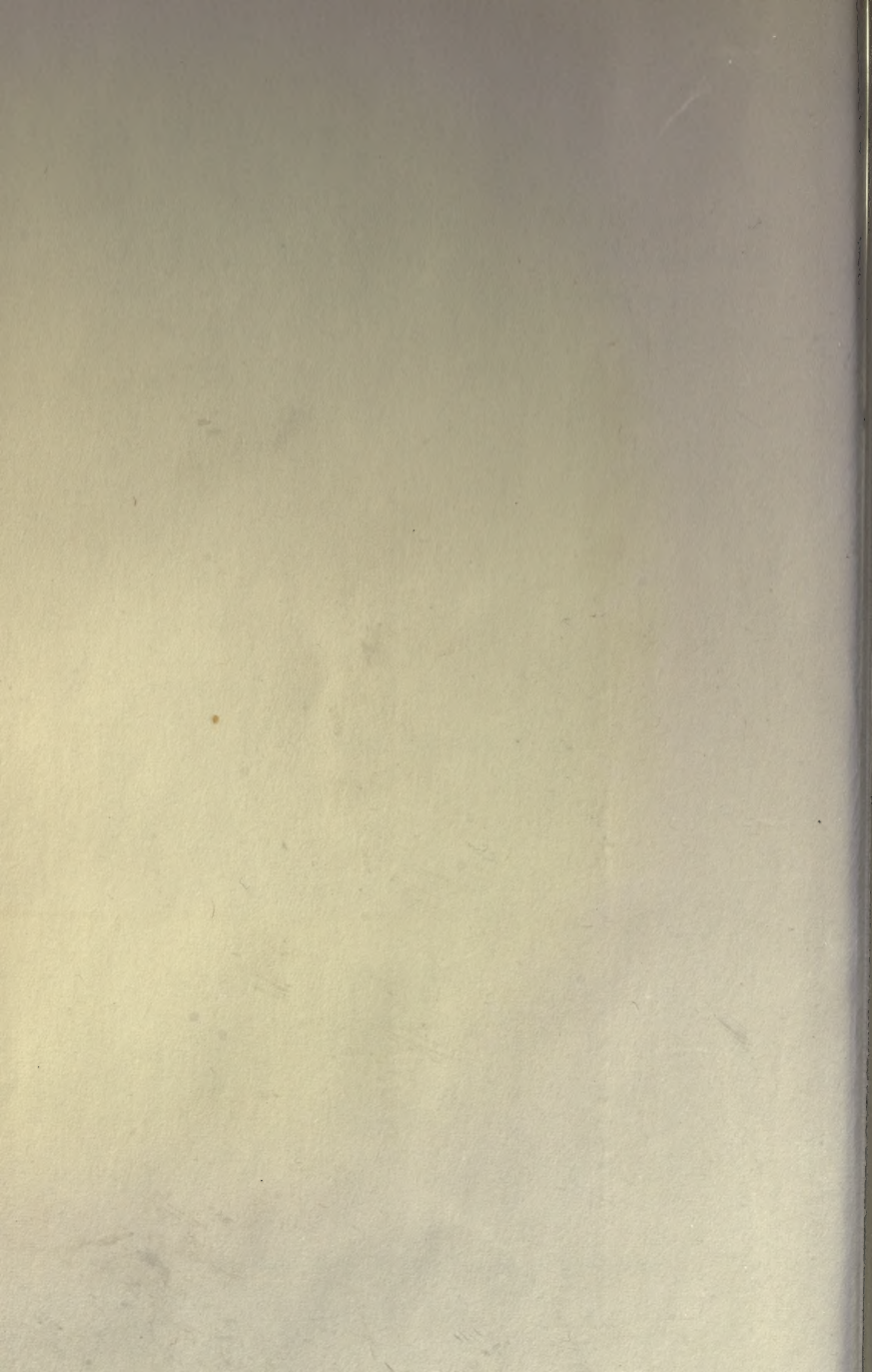
J. PELL.

END OF VOL. I.









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